

Part IV.

教會歷史中的敬拜與禮儀：
歷史文獻與解釋選錄

**WORSHIP LITURGY AND RITUAL
IN CHURCH HISTORY:
Selected Historical Documents
and Commentary**

November 2005

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DOCUMENT 1

大頌歌 **Great Canticles**

《路加福音》第 1-2 章

路加福音的第一、第二章，以詩歌宣揚耶穌的降生，並不是件偶然的事。從那時候起，基督徒的信仰常常以喜樂的音樂表達出來，這是歷史上從來沒有其他宗教可以相比的。路加福音的四首頌歌，在形式上是詩歌的形式，我們耶都熟悉其拉丁文字首。

尊主頌 (**Magnificat**)

馬利亞說：「我心尊主為大，我靈以上帝我的救主為樂...。」
(路 1: 46-55)

祝福 (**Benedictus**)

撒迦利亞被聖靈充滿了，就預言說：「主以色列的上帝是應當稱頌的！...」
(路 1: 67-79)

在至高之處榮耀歸與上帝 (**Gloria in excelsis Deo**)

忽然，有一大隊天兵同那天使讚美上帝說：「在至高之處榮耀歸與上帝！在地上平安歸與祂所喜悅的人！」(路 2: 13-14)

西面頌 (**Nunc dimittis**)

西面就用手接過他來，稱頌上帝說：「主啊！如今可以照你的話，釋放僕人安然去世；因為我的眼睛已經看見你的救恩...」(路 2: 28-32)

這些大頌歌 (**Great Canticles**) – 馬利亞之歌、撒迦利亞之歌、天使之歌、西面頌，是除了詩篇以外，最常在基督徒崇拜中唱的詩歌。

Donald Hustad, *Jubilate II* – Chinese translation: 赫士德，《當代聖樂與崇拜》，謝林芳蘭譯，臺北：校園書房出版社，1998，頁 167-168。

DOCUMENT 2

詩歌，頌詞和靈歌是指什麼？

雖然新約中很少提到有關崇拜的音樂，但保羅寫給兩間教會的書信（弗 5：18-19，西 3：16），描繪了三種不同的音樂－詩章、頌詞和靈歌。根據這些經文及其上下文的内容，我們可以看出似乎與聚會有關：以弗所書似乎指的是主餐聚會，二歌羅西書可能是指洗禮之後的勸誡。聖經學者無法確認這類詩歌的形式，主要原因是聖經沒有提供足夠的線索。然而，根據音樂學者及後來歷史的證明，筆者認為這三種的起源、主題内容，以及歌唱的方式，都截然不同。音樂史的權威威茲 (Egon Wellesz) 可以證明這點：

保羅寫這些書信時，一定指的是收信人熟悉的慣例。所以我們可以假設三種不同的詩歌，都是他們常唱的。我們可以從以色列音樂的特色，以及後來記載的基督教詩歌，揣摩那三種詩歌的形式：

- 1．詩章：朗誦猶太人的詩篇，以及根據詩篇形式而寫成的頌歌和三一頌。
- 2．頌詞：有音節的讚美詩，每一音節配上一或兩個音。
- 3．靈歌：哈利路亞詩歌，以及其他旋律華美的歡呼或狂喜的詩歌。

布魯斯 (F.F. Bruce) 對於這段經節，也有類似的看法，只是語氣不是那樣堅定：「「詩章」可能是指基督徒模仿舊約詩篇而寫的詩歌；「頌詞」指較長的作品有一部分收錄在新約聖經中；「靈歌」指由聖靈感動而自然發出的讚美。」

不論威茲對這些音樂形式的看法是否正確，詩歌歌詞的性質及其來源是相當明確的。「詩章」可能是古代舊約詩歌及頌歌，或以同樣形式創作的詩歌。路加福音第二章第四首頌歌，也是以詩篇形式寫成的，可以歸到這類。

「頌詞」則可能是新創作的詩歌，内容論到基督，強調耶穌是所應許的那一位，是猶太人第彌賽亞，而且基督也是神的兒子，受差成為我們的救主。早期教會產生這種帶有教義性的詩歌，其原因聖不難想像的。第二世紀非基督徒的歷史學家普林尼 (Pliny)，曾經提到：「基督徒在特定日子第日出前，聚集在一起唱詩敬拜基督，如同敬拜神。」保羅的書信中也記下許多首頌詞，都是以古典希臘詩歌的形式寫成，相信教會讀過保羅第書信之後，便採用那些頌詞，座位「基督之歌 (Christ Songs)」。其中有一首是單純的信仰告白：

大哉！敬虔的奧秘，無人不以為然！
就是神在肉身顯現，被聖靈稱義，
被天使看見，被傳於外邦，
被世人信服，被接在榮耀中。（提前 3：16）

另外，還有一首詩歌體裁的例子：

有可信的話說：
 我們若與基督同死，也必與祂同活；
 我們若能忍耐，也必和祂一同作王；
 我們若不認祂，祂也必不認我們；
 我們縱然失信，祂仍是可信的，
 因為祂不能背負自己。（提後 2：11-13）

咒文有類似的韻律，早期基督徒特別選用這種形式，寫了一首洗禮的詩歌：

你這睡著的認，當醒來，
 從死裏復活，
 基督就要光照你們了。

「靈歌」比較難以解釋，但藉著音樂學者研究其他中東文化，以及初期基督徒教會中類似的音樂形式，可以幫助我們對靈歌的了解。希臘文的「靈歌」一字，是 *odaes pneumaticaes*，意思為「空氣的頌詩」（*pneuma* 這個字有「呼吸」及「靈魂」的意思，故可能是指「呼吸之歌」）。所以有人猜測，靈歌是人們靈裏歡樂，所唱出沒有歌詞，或者只有「哈利路亞」一詞的曲調。另外，五旬節派和靈恩派的信徒，主張靈歌是一種自發性、狂喜的、含舌音的歌唱，這種唱法至今仍然存在。威茲提到在基督教剛開始的時候，舌音在近東一帶是很普遍的，之後也出現在天主教彌撒中的「*jubilus*」，那是當唱到「哈利路亞」時，接著有一段根據最後一個音節的即興裝飾樂段；之後才唸福音書。聖奧古斯丁認為：

這種詩歌實在是一種無詞的狂喜之歌... 表達滿空的音樂...。一個人在極端狂喜，用盡為人所了解的字眼之後，無詞的音樂之歌自然流露出來，因為那狂喜，往往無法用言語形容。

Donald Hustad, *Jubilate II*, 中譯：《當代聖樂與崇拜》，臺北：校園出版社，1998，頁 170-173。

DOCUMENT 3

Clement of Rome, *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (A.D. 96)

羅馬的革利免，《致哥林多人書》（AD 96）

（這封信是勸勉，不是敬拜禮儀。可是有一段言辭可能影響兩百年後敬拜禮儀裏的禱文。）

(The letter is an exhortation, not a liturgical document; but at one point it breaks out into words that may be traced in liturgies of two centuries later.)

願創造萬物的主，藉著祂的愛子耶穌基督，保守全世界的選民；上帝藉著祂呼召我們離開黑暗進入光明... 你曾開我們心中的眼，叫我們能認識你... 你叫驕傲的人卑微，分散他們的計謀，你使謙卑的人升高，使掌權的降卑。... 主啊，求你作我們的幫助。求你作在苦難中的人的救主，求你憐恤卑微的人，叫跌倒的起來，求你向有需要的人顯現，醫治那些不敬虔的，復蘇那些偏離開正路的。求你使饑餓的滿足，搭救被囚的，醫治有病的，安慰心靈軟弱的，好叫地上萬民都認識你是獨一的主，耶穌基督是你的僕人，我們是你的子民，是你草場上的羊。

“May the sealed number of the elect in the whole world be preserved intact by the Creator of all things, through His well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, by whom He has called us from darkness to light. ... Thou has opened the eyes of our hearts that we may know Thee, ... who abasest the insolence of the proud, who scatterest the machinations of the people, who exaltest the humble and puttest down the mighty. ... O Master, be our help and succour. Be the salvation of those who are in tribulation; take pity on the lowly, raise up them that fall, reveal Thyself to those who are in need, heal the ungodly, and restore those who have gone out of the Way. Appease the hunger of the needy, deliver those who suffer in prison, heal the sick, comfort the faint-hearted, that all people may know that Thou art the only God, that Jesus Christ is Thy Servant, and that we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture. ...

主啊，你曾創造世界，你在歷代信實，你的判斷公義，你的權能威嚴奇妙。... 憐憫人的上帝啊，求你赦免我們的過錯，我們的不義，我們的缺點，我們的罪行... 求你用你的真理潔淨我們，指定我們當行的路，... 求你以你的臉光光照我們... 求你賜和平，和睦給住在全地上的人...

“... Thou, Lord, hast created the earth, Thou who remainest faithful throughout all generations, just in Thy judgements, wonderful in Thy might and majesty. ... O pitiful and merciful God, forgive us our faults, our injustices, our shortcomings, our transgressions, ... cleanse us by Thy truth and direct our steps, ... and make Thy face to shine upon us. ... Give peace and concord ... to all the dwellers of the earth. ...

主啊，我們君王和地上掌權統治我們的人，他們的權能與王位都是你所賜的，都按照你至善至聖的大能；好叫我們順服他們，而不抵擋你的旨意。求你賜他們健康，平安，和睦，和穩固，好叫他們毫無攔住地執行你所託付給他們的權柄。... 求你指

引他們的計謀，.... 好叫他們以和平與憐憫執行你所給他們的權能，好叫他們討你的喜悅。... 我們讚美你，你能作這些事，能作更美的事，都因耶穌基督，保護我們靈魂的大祭司；願榮耀和威嚴歸與你，從今直到萬代，永永遠遠。啊們。

“It is Thou, Lord, who hast given to our princes, to those who rule over us upon earth, the power of royalty, by the excellent and unspeakable virtue of Thy might, in order that we may submit ourselves to them, and not put ourselves in opposition to Thy will. Grant them, Lord, health, peace, concord, and stability, that they may exercise unhindered the authority with which Thou has entrusted them. ... Direct their counsels, ... so that exercising peacefully and mercifully the power Thou has given them, they may obtain Thy favour. ... We praise Thee who art able to do these and better things than these, through Jesus Christ the High Priest and Guardian of our souls, through whom be glory and majesty to Thee, both now and throughout all generations, for ever and ever. Amen.”

Clement of Rome, *First Epistle to Corinthians*, lix-lxii. English translation from Greek, in L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship, its Origin and Evolution*, London, 5th ed., 1920, pp. 51-53, except concluding doxology. Quoted in William D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 7-8.

DOCUMENT 4

The *Didache* 《使徒遺訓》

(This extract describes worship in Jewish Christian circles in the Sub-Apostolic Age. It is an example of the combined eucharist and *Agape*, in which the blessings of the bread and the cup are not only separate, but the cup is blessed before the bread.)

ix. 關於聖餐，我們這樣獻上感謝。首先為杯感謝。

“As touching the eucharist, we give thanks in this manner. First over the cup.

我們的父啊，我們感謝你，因為你藉著你的僕人耶穌，顯明你僕人大衛的聖葡萄樹。願榮耀歸給你，直到永遠。

“We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy servant which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant. To Thee be the glory for ever.

為擘開的餅感謝。

“Over the broken bread.

我們的父啊，我們感謝你，因為你藉著你的僕人耶穌，顯明了生命，叫我們認識你。願榮耀歸給你，直到永遠。正如這餅曾分散在山上，後來又被聚集起來成為一體，願你的教會也從地極各方被聚集起來，成為你的國度；因為榮耀和權能都是你地，藉著耶穌基督，直到永遠。

“We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant. To Thee be glory for ever. As this broken bread was scattered over the mountains, and has been gathered together and made one, so may Thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever.

只讓受了洗禮，歸在主的名下的，來吃這餅，喝這杯；因為主曾在這事上教導我們：不要把聖物給狗吃。

“Let no one eat or drink of your eucharist but those baptized in the Name of the Lord, for it was concerning this that the Lord said, ‘Do not give that which is holy to the dogs.’

x. 你們領餅與杯滿足之後，要這樣感謝：

“When you have been filled, give thanks thus:

聖父啊，我們為你的聖名向你獻上感謝，你叫你的聖名住在我們心中。我們也為你藉著你的僕人顯明給我們認識的真道，信仰，永生，感謝你。願榮耀歸給你，直到永遠。主啊，你是統宇宙的主，你為了自己名字的緣故，創造了萬物，你給萬人吃喝，賜他們喜悅，叫他們感謝你；但你卻賜給我們靈裏的糧，靈裏的泉源；藉著你的僕人耶穌，賜給我們永遠的生命。我們首先要向你獻上感謝，因為你是全能的上帝。願榮耀歸與你，直到永遠。主啊，求你記念你的教會，拯救教會脫離一切的邪惡，叫她在你的愛中完全；求你從

全地四極聚集一切你所聖化的人，進入你為他們預備的國度，因為權柄榮耀，都是你的，直到永遠。

“We give thanks to Thee, holy Father, for Thy holy Name, which Thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith, and immortality which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant. To Thee be glory for ever. Thou, O Lord, Ruler of the universe, hast made all things for the sake of Thy name, hast given meat and drink to all for their enjoyment that they might give thanks to Thee; but to us Thou hast given spiritual meat and drink, and eternal life through Jesus Thy servant. Before all things we give Thee thanks, for Thou art mighty. To Thee be glory for ever. Remember, O Lord, Thy Church, to deliver it from all evil and to perfect it in Thy love; and gather it that Thou hast sanctified from the four winds of heaven into Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared for it, for Thine is the power and the glory for ever.

願恩典（主）來臨，這個世界成為過去。

“和 May grace (Coptic version: “the Lord”) come, and this world pass away.

和散那歸於大衛的上帝（或作：大衛之家）。

Hosanna to God (Coptic: “the house”) of David.

若有人是聖潔的，讓他來；若有人不潔淨，讓他悔改。

“If anyone be holy, let him come; if any one be not, let him repent.

主啊，願你快來。阿們。

“Marantha. Amen.

然後讓先知們按他們的意思感恩（或作：繼續主持聖餐）。

“Then suffer the prophets to give thanks (or, as it may be translated, “to continue the eucharist”) as they wish.”

Didache. H. Lietzmann, *Messe and Herrenmahl*, Bonn, 1926, p. 231. Bigg and Maclean, eds., *The Didache*, London, 1922. See F.L. Cirlot, *The Early Eucharist*, London, 1939, pp. 171-175. Quoted in William D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 9-10.

DOCUMENT 5

Justin Martyr, *Apology to the Emperor Antoninus Pius*, ca. A.D. 140

殉道士游斯丁，《護教辭》

（猶斯丁只提供一個簡單的大綱，可是足夠讓我們了解當時的敬拜情況；他寫的年日是使徒保羅死後群七十年。因此我們可以肯定，他在這裏所描述的，離使徒們所實行的不會太遠。）

[Justin gives only a broad outline, but it is sufficient to give us a clear idea of the worship of the time; and writing as he does from Rome some 70 years after the death of St. Paul, we may be sure that the worship he describes is not far removed from Apostolic practice.]

[洗禮之後的聖餐：]

[A celebration of the eucharist after a baptism.]

我們禱告完畢，就彼此親嘴問安。之後，餅和杯－杯裏有酒和水－帶到在眾弟兄們面前主持聖餐者。他拿起餅和杯，向萬有之父，藉聖子和聖靈的名獻上讚美，歸榮耀於祂；為著上帝看我們配得這些恩賜，獻上長的感恩禱告 (eucharistaian)。禱告感恩完畢，所有會眾大聲呼叫：「阿們」。希伯來文「阿們」就是：願此成就的意思。

“Our prayers being ended, we salute one another with a kiss. Then bread, and a cup of wine mixed with water, are brought to him who presides over the brethren. He, taking them, offers praise and glory to the Father of all through the Name of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and gives thanks (eucharistian) at great length for that we have been counted worthy to receive these gifts from God; and when he finishes the prayers and thanksgivings all the people present cry aloud, Amen. Amen in the Hebrew tongue means, So be it.

主席感恩，會眾說「阿們」之後，我們中間被稱為執事的，就將餅和杯分給在坐的，與他們分享祝謝過的餅，和酒與水。執事也帶餅，酒與水到缺席的。我們稱這食物為 eucharist（中譯者按：「感謝」的意思），正當領這餐的人，必須相信我們所教導的都是真的，也領受了赦罪、重生的洗，因此是遵守基督所吩咐的人。

“After the President has given thanks and all the people have said Amen, those among us who are called deacons give to all present, sharing it among them, the bread and wine mixed with water over which thanks have been given, and carry it also to those who are absent. And this food is called eucharist (eucharistia) by us, of which it is not right for any one to partake save only he who believes that the things taught by us are true, and is washed with the washing that is for the forgiveness of sins and regeneration, and so lives as Christ commanded us.”

（猶斯丁繼續說，會眾領受餅，酒和水，不是「為一般的餅和飲料」，乃是「為基督的身體與血」，這是符合福音書的教導；基督清楚的吩咐在福音書裏記載。）

[Justin further states that these things are received, not “as common bread and drink,” but as “the body and blood” of Christ, and that this is in accord with the Gospels, in which the express commands of our Lord are handed down.]

（猶斯丁形容一般主日舉行的崇拜：）

[Justin describes the Sunday service as normally celebrated:]

在星期天（太陽節），住在城鎮或鄉村的人都聚集在一個地方，按照時間所容許，讀出使徒的遺訓，和先知所寫的書卷。讀經者讀完畢，主席教導、鼓勵會眾，要實行讀出的經文裏的事之後，我們一同站立，獻上禱告。如我上面所說的，當我們禱告完畢之後，餅酒和水就拿來。

“On the day called the Feast of the Sun, all who live in towns or in the country assemble in one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read as time permits. Then, when the reader has ended, the President instructs and encourages the people to practice the truths contained in the Scripture lections. Thereafter, we all stand up and offer prayers together; and, as I mentioned before, when we have concluded this prayer, bread and wine and water are brought.

然後主席同樣地獻上感恩與禱告，按照他的能力；會眾喊叫「阿們」。每人都領一份祝謝過的餅，酒和水；執事們送去給缺席的人。

“Then the President likewise offers up prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability, and the people cry aloud saying Amen. Each one then receives a portion and share of the elements over which thanks have been given; and which are also carried and ministered by the deacons to those absent.”

Justin, *First Apology*, lxxv-lxxvii. Quoted in William D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 11-12. Another version in: Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, New York: World Publishing Company, 1961, pp. 8-9.

DOCUMENT 6

殉道士游斯，《護教辭》

Justin Martyr, *Apology*

第一個明確記載的崇拜儀式，保存在殉道士游斯丁 (Justin Martyr) 寫給羅馬皇帝的《護教辭》(*Apology*) 一書中。游斯丁描述當時基督徒如何在所謂的「太陽節」(Feast of the Sun) 聚會，聚會內容如下：

話語的敬拜（基督徒的聚會）

誦讀先知書、福音書、書信

信息（教導與勸勉）

公禱（會眾站立，同聲一起禱告）

聖餐的聚會

親嘴問安

奉獻（把祭物、餅和酒帶到台前）

聖餐感恩的禱文（發揮個人屬靈恩賜的禱告），禱告完畢，大家同聲說阿們

恭守聖餐

T.S. Garrett, *Christian Worship*, London: Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 47; cf. William D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms*, pp. 11-14; quoted in Donald Hustad, *Jubilate II* – Chinese translation: 赫士德，《當代聖樂與崇拜》，謝林芳蘭譯，臺北：校園書房出版社，1998，頁 187。

DOCUMENT 7

RECONSTRUCTED LITURGY – MID-2nd CENTURY

第二世紀中葉的崇拜

話語的禮儀 The Liturgy of the Word

讀經：先知書，使徒書信，和福音書（新約稱為「使徒遺訓」）

Lections from: the Prophets, and the Epistles and Gospels (called “Memoirs of the Apostles”)

教導與勸勉：根據讀出的經文

Instruction and exhortation based upon the lections

會眾禱告，跟禮儀方式

Common prayers, apparently in litany form

（應有）詩篇，詩歌

Psalms and hymns also probably had a place

聖餐聚會 The Liturgy of the Upper Room

親嘴問安

Kiss of Peace

奉獻：為窮人所收的奉獻

獻上聖餐

Offertory: Collection of gifts for poor

Bringing in of the Elements

祝禱

Prayer of Consecration:

為上帝的創造，掌管萬有，和救贖感謝

Thanksgiving for creation, providence, and redemption

記念基督受難（後代稱為「憶念禱文」 Anamnesis）

Memorial of Passion (later known as Anamnesis)

獻上禮物，包括獻上自己

Oblation of gifts with self-oblation

求上帝的道與領賜福與餅和酒（後代稱之為 Epiclesis）

Invocation of the Word and Holy Spirit to bless the gifts of bread and wine (later known as the Epiclesis)

代禱

Intercessions

會眾的「阿們」

People's Amen

擘餅

Fraction

恭領聖餐
Communion
散會
Dismissal

Reconstructed by William D. Maxwell, in *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 12-13.

DOCUMENT 8

3rd and 4th CENTURIES: SALUTATION, SURSUM CORDA, SANCTUS

第三，四世紀：敬禮文（問安），獻心頌（振起你心），聖哉頌

The *Sursum corda* – first mentioned by Cyprian. Appears as the introduction to the Prayer of Consecration in every known liturgy hereafter.

The Salutation – It was the usual greeting between Christians when they met; it was natural that the bishop or presiding presbyter should so greet the people at the beginning of each service. So it came to preface every bidding to prayer, including the *Sursum corda*.

Salutation 敬禮文（問安）

聖職人員：主與你們同在。

Minister: The Lord be with you.

或：願你們平安。

or, Peace be with you.

或：願主耶穌基督的恩惠，上帝的慈愛，聖靈的交通，與你們眾人同在。

or, The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all.

會眾回應：也與你的靈同在。

People: And with thy spirit.

Sursum corda 獻心頌（振起你心）

聖職人員：你們當舉心向上（振起你們的心）。

Minister: Lift up your hearts.

會眾回應：我們舉心仰望上主（我們向主振起我們的心）。

People: We lift them up unto the Lord.

聖職人員：讓我們感謝上主。

Minister: Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

會眾回應：我們理當如此行。

People: It is meet and right so to do.

The Sanctus 聖哉頌

It has been alluded to in Clement of Rome's *First Epistle to Corinthians*, xxxiv: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of hosts, every creature is full of Thy glory." (Cf. Isa. 6: 3, Rev. 4: 8, 11.) Now it appears in a form that came to be widely used.

(餐：賽 6：3；啟 4：8，11。)

聖哉，聖哉，聖哉，全能大主宰，
 Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty,
 天地充滿上主的榮光，
 Heaven and earth are full of thy glory;
 榮耀都歸上主。
 Glory be to Thee, O Lord.

William D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms*,
 Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936, p. 15.

參考：Robert E. Webber, 《崇拜：認古識今》（香港：宣道出版社，2000），頁
 68-69。

DOCUMENT 9

RECONSTRUCTED LITURGY, 3rd AND 4th CENTURIES

第三，四世紀的崇拜程序

敬拜程序 THE LITURGY

話語的禮儀 The Liturgy of the Word

選讀經文：律法書，先知書，使徒行傳，福音書，主教書信

Lections: Law, Prophets, Epistles, Acts, Gospels, Letters from bishops

在各段經課之間唱誦詩篇（由領唱人唱出）

Psalms sung by cantors between the lections

阿利路亞頌（數次）

Alleluias

講道（一篇或數篇）

Sermon or sermons

執事的總禱文，為學道者和悔罪者

Deacon's litany for catechumens and penitents

散會（學道者散去，信眾除外）

Dismissal of all but the faithful

樓房上的禮儀（聖餐聚會） The Liturgy of the Upper Room

執事為信眾的總禱文：為記錄與簿上 (diptychs) 的仍存活者及已死人

Deacon's litany for the faithful, with diptychs (lists of names) of living and dead

親嘴問安

Kiss of peace

奉獻：收集捐獻

Offertory: Collection of alms

呈獻酒與餅

Presentation of elements

預備餅及以水調酒

Preparation of elements and admixture of water to wine

獻心頌（或「振起你心」，或「舉心向上辭」）

Sursum corda

祝聖的禱文

Consecration Prayer:

序禱告：感謝讚美上帝得創造，上帝的聖潔等

Preface: Thanksgiving and adoration for creation, &c.

聖哉頌（或譯「三聖頌」）

Sanctus

感謝救贖大恩禱文

Thanksgiving for redemption

設立主餐禱文

Words of Institution

記憶念文（憶念主的受苦，復活與升天）

Anamnesis

求降聖靈禱文

Epiclesis

為活人，死人的代求

Great Intercession for living and dead

主禱文

Lord's Prayer

擘餅

Fraction

舉揚聖餐的餅與酒：「聖物歸與聖者」禱文：分派餅與酒

Elevation – “Holy things to the holy” – and Delivery

會眾領受聖餐：領餅也領杯；每位領餐者誠心說「阿們」回應；領聖餐過程中，領唱人唱誦詩篇 43 篇和 34 篇

Communion of all in both kinds, each communicant replying Amen; during reception

Psalms xliii and xxxiv were sung by cantors

領聖餐後的感謝禱文

Post-Communion Thanksgiving

執事的總禱文，主禮人的簡短代禱

Deacon's litany and celebrant's brief Intercession

保留聖餐的餅（僅限於餅，不留杯），分送給缺席與患病的信徒

Reservation of bread only, for sick and absent

散會

Dismissal

Reconstructed by William D. Maxwell, in *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 17-18, from: Clement of Alexandria (d. c. 220), Tertullian (d. c. 240), Origin (d. 251), a book of prayers belonging to an Egyptian bishop, Sarapion of Thumuis (c. 340), consecrated by St. Athanasius, and catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem, delivered A.D. 347.

參考：Robert E. Webber, 《崇拜：認古識今》(Worship Old and New)，香港：宣道出版社，2000，頁 66-67。

儀式 THE RITE

聚會開始時，牧師們在聖堂 (sanctuary) 一個臺上站好，圍著聖餐桌成一個半圓形 (apse)。私禱之後，開始誦讀聖經；讀幾段經文，至於經文多長，這時候還沒有定規；不過，最後一段是福音書，由一位執事讀出。領唱人站在聖所外面，一般在講臺 (rostrum) 前的階級上；他們帶領會眾在誦讀經文之間唱詩。然後主教講道，之後一位或幾位長老（譯者按：即牧師）講道。他們的教導完畢，一位執事帶領學道者 (catechumens) 和非信徒們作總禱文 (litanies)；然後讓這些人散會。守門的看守，不讓信眾以外的人進入。這樣，話語的敬拜 (Liturgy of the Word) 結束。

The service begins when the clergy have taken their places behind the Holy Table in the sanctuary, a semicircular apse with raised platform. After private prayers, the lections begin, their number and length not yet fixed; the last is always a Gospel, read by a deacon. Cantors, standing outside the sanctuary, usually on the steps of a rostrum, lead the singing between the lections. Then the bishop preaches, followed by one or more presbyters. The instruction ended, the deacon leads litanies for the catechumens and others not of the faithful, who are then dismissed, while door-keepers watch the doors that none may enter. Thus the Liturgy of the Word concludes.

聖餐聚會 (Liturgy of the Upper Room) 由執事帶領信眾的總禱文 (liturgy of the faithful) 開始，執事在其中記念活人和死人。然後全體相互親嘴問安，可能同時說「願主的平安與你同在」之類的話。然後有奉獻，包括收集慈惠奉獻 (alms)，獻上聖餐的餅與杯 (elements)，預備餅與杯；同時唱詩篇。

The Liturgy of the Upper Room begins with the deacon's litany of the faithful, in which he remembers the living and the dead. Then the Kiss of Peace is given by all, probably accompanied by some form of words such as, "The peace of the Lord be with you." The Offertory, which follows, consists of the collection of the alms, presentation and preparation of the elements, during which psalms are sung.

在這段時期，聖所 (sanctuary) 被一面簾子 (veil) 遮蓋起來，雖然不是所有地方的教會都這樣作。主教向會眾問安，用「振起你心」 (*Sursum corda*) 呼召他們禱告，然後開始為聖餐分別為聖禱告；教會若有多位牧師齊領聖餐 (concelebration) 的習慣，長老（即牧師）們與主教一齊禱告。主教念主禱文之後，擘開餅；舉起餅來，喊叫說：「聖物歸與聖者！」 (Holy things to the holy.) 會眾回應：「只有一位聖者，就是獨一的主耶穌基督！」之後會眾上到前面來領餐 (communicate)，按上面提到的次序領受。過程中唱詩篇；主教作簡短的感恩和代禱告後（這禱告之前，通常執事帶領總禱文），聚會結束。主教禱告之後，指事宣佈會眾可以散會。

A curtain has meanwhile been drawn to veil the sanctuary, though this was not universally in use, and the bishop, saluting the people, calls them to prayer with the *Sursum corda*, and begins the Prayer of Consecration, his presbyters joining with him if concelebration is the custom. After he has recited the Lord's Prayer, he breaks the bread; then, elevating the bread and the cup, he cries, "Holy things to the holy," and the people reply, "There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ," after which they come forward to communicate, receiving in the order before noted. Meanwhile psalms are sung, and the service is concluded by a brief thanksgiving and intercession by the bishop, sometimes

preceded by a deacon's litany; when the bishop's prayer is ended the deacon dismisses the people.

Reconstructed by William D. Maxwell, in *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 17-18, from: Clement of Alexandria (d. c. 220), Tertullian (d. c. 240), Origin (d. 251), a book of prayers belonging to an Egyptian bishop, Sarapion of Thumuis (c. 340), consecrated by St. Athanasius, and catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem, delivered A.D. 347.

DOCUMENT 10

PRAYER OF CONSECRATION, BISHOP SARAPION –
EGYPTIAN, MID-3RD CENTURY

聖餐禱告：第三世紀，埃及撒拉披安主教

（這篇文獻給我們看見《使徒遺訓》(*Didache*) 的影響。這篇禱告不像後來啟應文那樣文雅、前後呼應，其中阿歷山太學派的「道」(*Logos*) 的觀念尤其顯著。這一點從「序禱」(*preface*) 可以看出。前言很特別，先前為創造和護理的感恩禱告，現在被讚美愛慕「道」(*Logos*) 的禱告取代。*Epiclesis*（中譯：後來「祈求聖靈」的禱告）中不再稱呼聖靈，也沒有「憶念禱文」(*anamnesis*)。可是這篇禱告非常寶貴，讓我們認識，在崇拜程序 (*liturgy*) 定規之前的時期，「祝聖」(*consecration*) 這類的禱告。編者（注：英文編者 Maxwell）為了顯著整段的結構，為讀者分段，每段的標題用斜體。）

(The influence of the *Didache* ... can be detected. The prayer lacks literary grace and cohesion, and is dominated by the Alexandrian conception of the *Logos*. This latter probably accounts for the curious preface, where thanksgiving for creation and providence is transformed into adoration of the *Logos*, and for the omission of the invocation of the Holy Spirit in the *epiclesis* and the lack of an *anamnesis*. Yet this prayer is a valuable example ... of the type of consecration prayer which existed before the *liturgy* was fixed. To indicate its structure clearly, the prayer is here divided into its parts, with titles in italics. – Maxwell, 1936.)

After the *Sursum corda*: 「振起你心」之後

***Preface: Thanksgiving and Adoration* 序禱：感恩，讚美**

獨生子耶穌基督的父，不受生的 (*unbegotten*) 上帝阿，來讚美你、向你唱詩 (*hymn Thee*)、歸榮耀給你，本是合宜的，正當的。我們讚美你，不受生的上帝，你是高深的、莫測的上帝，被造者不能窮究。我們讚美你，惟獨你的獨生兒子認識你，因為祂講論你，解釋你，顯明你，讓被造世界認識你。... 我們讚美你，人不能見的父，賜永生的上帝。你是生命、光的泉源，一切恩典、真理來自你；你愛眾人，你愛窮人，你使眾人與你和好，你藉著你獨一所愛的兒子的降臨，吸引眾人到你面前。我們祈求你再造我們，成為活人。求賜下真理的靈給我們，好叫我們真認識你，真上帝，真認識你所差遣的那位，耶穌基督。求賜我們聖靈，好叫我們能宣揚，講述你不可言諭的奧秘。願主耶穌基督在我們裏面說話。願聖靈在我們裏面向你唱詩。因為你遠超乎所有的國度、權柄、能力、王位，你的名在一切有名之名以上，不只是在今世，也是在來世。在你周圍，千千萬萬的天使，天使長，有位的，掌權的站立侍候；兩個最尊貴的，六個翅膀的撒非拉（天使）因你而站立，兩個翅膀遮臉，兩個翅膀遮腳，兩個翅膀飛翔，呼叫，聖哉；求你接受我們的讚頌，好像接受天使們的讚頌一樣，我們呼叫：

It is meet and right to praise, to hymn, to glorify Thee, the unbegotten Father of the only-begotten Jesus Christ. We praise Thee, O unbegotten God, who art unsearchable, ineffable, incomprehensible by any created substance. We praise Thee who art known of Thy Son, the only-begotten One, who through Him art spoken of and interpreted and made manifest to created nature. ... We praise Thee, O unseen Father, Provider of immortality. Thou art the Fount of life, ... light, ... all grace and truth, O Lover of men, O Lover of the poor, who reconcilest Thyself to all, and drawest all to Thyself through the advent of Thy only beloved Son. We beseech Thee to make us living men. Give us a spirit of truth, that we may know Thee the true God, and Him whom Thou hast sent, Jesus Christ. Give us Thy Holy Spirit, that we may be able to tell forth and announce Thy unspeakable mysteries. May the Lord Jesus Christ speak in us and the Holy Spirit hymn Thee through us. For Thou art far above all rule and authority and power and dominion and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come. Beside Thee stand thousand and myriad myriads of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers; by Thee stand the two most honourable six-winged seraphim, with two wings covering the face, and with two the feet, and with two flying, and crying, Holy; with whom also receive our cry of Holy, as we say

聖哉，聖哉，聖哉，耶和華萬軍的上帝，
 天地充滿著你的榮耀。
 Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts,
 Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.

***Oblation and Institution* 供獻聖餐，設立聖餐**

萬軍的耶和華啊，天和地都充滿你至美的榮耀。求你同樣以你的權能充滿這次的獻祭，參與我們的供獻：因為我們向你獻上這活祭，供獻無血之祭。我們來向你獻這餅，就是那位獨生者身體的模樣。

Full is the heaven, full also is the earth of Thy excellent glory, Lord of hosts. Fill also this sacrifice with Thy power and participation: for to Thee have we offered this living sacrifice, this bloodless oblation. To Thee have we offered this bread, the likeness of the body of the only-begotten One.

這餅是聖潔身體的樣式，因為主耶穌基督，在祂被賣的一夜，拿起餅來，擘開，給祂的眾門徒，說：你們要領受，吃這餅，這是我的身體，為你們捨的，為要赦免你們的罪。因此我們效法主的死，同樣來獻上餅，求你，真理的上帝，藉著這祭使我們眾人與你和好。求你施憐憫，正如這餅曾分散在山山，現在被聚集，同樣求你聚集你的聖教會，從萬國萬邦，城鎮鄉村，家家族族而來，成為一個普世，活的教會。

This bread is the likeness of the holy body, because the Lord Jesus Christ, in the night in which He was betrayed, took bread, and brake it, and gave to His disciples, saying, Take ye and eat, this is My body which is being broken for you for remission of sins. Wherefore, we also making the likeness of the death have offered the bread, and beseech Thee through this sacrifice, O God of truth, to be reconciled to us all and to be

merciful, and, as this bread was scattered on the top of the mountains, and, gathered together, came to be one, so also gather Thy holy Church out of every nation and every country and city and village and house, and make one living catholic Church.

我們照樣獻上杯，寶血的樣式，因為主耶穌基督飯後拿起杯來，對祂的門徒說：你們要領受，喝這杯，因為這杯就是新約，我的血，為你們流的，使罪得赦免。因此我們獻上這杯，供獻祂寶血的樣式。

We have offered the cup also, the likeness of the blood, because the Lord Jesus Christ, taking a cup after supper, said to His disciples, Take ye, drink ye, this is the new covenant, My blood, which is being shed for you for remission of sins. Wherefore, we have also offered the cup, presenting a likeness of the blood.

Epiclesis 求降聖靈禱文

真理的上帝阿，求你使你聖潔的道降臨在這餅，叫這餅成為你的道的身體，降臨在這杯上，叫這杯成為你真理的寶血；使所有領餅和杯的人，領受生命的良藥，醫治一切病痛，堅立一切的美德與進步；讓他們不被定罪，真理的上帝，不被責備懲罰。因為我們向你呼求，不受生的上帝，都靠獨生子和你聖潔的靈。

O God of truth, let Thy holy Word come upon this bread, that the bread may become the body of the Word, and upon this cup that the cup may become the blood of the Truth; and make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness and the strengthening of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of truth, and not for censure and reproach. For we have invoked Thee, the Unbegotten, through the Only-Begotten in Thy Holy Spirit.

Intercessions 代禱

求你讓這民得蒙憐憫；願他們在你面前配得進步；求你差遣天使陪伴你的子民，滅絕那惡者，堅立你的教會。我們也為那些睡了的人禱告，提名記念他們。

（這裏誦讀死者的名字。）求你使他們的靈魂成聖，因為你是認識眾人的主。求你使所有在主裏安息的人得蒙成聖，使他們在你聖潔萬軍的會中，賜他們在你國度裏的位分和住處。

Let this people receive mercy; let them be counted worthy of advancement; let angels be sent forth as companions of the people for bringing to naught the evil one and for the establishment of Thy Church. We intercede also on behalf of all who have been laid to rest, whose memorial we make. [*Here the names were recited.*] Sanctify these souls, for Thou knowest all. Sanctify all who are laid to rest in the Lord, and number them all with Thy holy hosts, and give them a place and mansion in Thy kingdom.

求你接納你子民現在向你的感恩敬拜 (eucharist)，賜福給獻上奉獻與感恩的人；求賜這眾民健康，堅立他們，賜他們喜樂，和一切身體靈魂的進步；禱告靠獨生者耶穌基督，藉著聖靈，從永遠到如今，直到永永遠遠，永世無窮。阿們。

Receive also this eucharist of Thy people, and bless those who have offered the offerings and thanksgivings; and grant health and soundness and cheerfulness, and all advancement of soul and body to this whole people; through the only-begotten Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit, as it was and is and shall be unto generations of generations and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.

J. Wordsworth, *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer Book*. London, ed. 1923. Greek text: H. Lietzmann, *Messe and Herrenmahl*, Bonn, 1926, pp. 186-187. Quoted in William D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship*, Oxford, 1936, pp.19-21.

DOCUMENT 10

HIPPOLYTUS, *THE APOSTOLIC TRADITION*, MID-3rd CENTURY

希坡律陀，《使徒遺傳》，第三世紀中葉

（學者們對這被稱為《埃及教會規律》的編寫日期，地點，和重要性都意見紛紛。不過近年來多數同意，原本是希臘文的文獻，名為《使徒的遺傳》，由羅馬的希坡律陀編寫，在 225-250 年左右。希臘文的原文已經失落，可是我們有一份非洲 Ethiopia 的翻譯本，從 Coptic 教會而來；另有拉丁文，Coptic 文，合阿拉伯文的譯本。... 因此 Duchesne 警告我們，原文既然只存留在譯本中，「當我們考慮細節的侍候要謹慎，因為這類文獻後來的編者，往往用他們自己的意見和品味來修改文件中的崇拜指引，原文只不過用作他們作品的基礎而已。」）

(Opinions have differed about the date, place, and importance of the so-called “Egyptian Church Order,” but it is now generally agreed that it was originally a Greek document entitled *The Apostolic Tradition*, compiled by Hippolytus of Rome in the second quarter of the third century. The Greek text is lost, but we possess a complete Ethiopic translation derived through the Coptic, and also fragments of Latin, Coptic, and Arabic translations. [Critical and best edition in English in B. Scott Easton, *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, translated with Introduction and Notes. Cambridge, 1934.] Thus Duchesne rightly warns us, since the text exists only in versions, that “when we come to details we must be cautious, since later editors of this class of composition are always prone to allow their ideas and tastes to modify the directions found in the document which serves as the basis of their work.”

(For our purposes, the relevant part of the Hippolytan Order is the Consecration Prayer used at the eucharist when a bishop was consecrated. It was not a fixed prayer, but the model that is indicated appears to contain much traditional phraseology. As Hippolytus says, “It is not necessary for him to recite the same words, but, according to his own ability, so each one is to give thanks.”

(... “On the whole, the evidence seems to me to indicate that the formula of Hippolytus represents, not the type of congregational service in use towards the end of the second century, but the work of an individual who deviated from the traditional form under the influence of a Pauline theology, and of a reaction against the Jewish elements in the liturgy, and thus took the passion and atonement as his dominant ideas; and that, with regard to the subject-matter of the Eucharistic prayer, the Clementine liturgy is really more primitive than Hippolytus.” Y. Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice, Evangelical and Catholic*, London, 1930, pp. 25-26.)

祝聖禱文 *THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION*

親嘴問安之後，執事們呈獻餅和酒在聖桌上；主教按手在餅與杯（供獻物）上，與同旁一起主持聖餐的牧師們開始感恩的禱告 (Eucharistic prayer)：問安，振起你心，然後為救贖感恩的禱告。

After the Kiss of Peace the deacons present the bread and wine at the Holy Table, and the bishop, laying his hands upon the gifts, begins the Eucharistic prayer, accompanied by the presbyters who concelebrate with him: the salutation and *Sursum corda* precede the prayer which begins with Thanksgiving for Redemption.

上帝阿，我們靠你的僕人耶穌基督來獻上感謝給你；你曾差他在末世來作救助，來作你旨意的使者；祂是你的道，與你不可分開，在你面前大蒙悅納，你藉著祂創造了萬物。你差派祂從天上降臨，藉一童貞女感孕而生，道成肉身，獻為你的兒子；由聖靈和童貞女所生；祂成就了你的旨意，為你召聚了聖潔的子民，受難時伸開祂的雙手，好叫信靠你的人，從苦難中釋放，...

“We give thanks to Thee, O God, through Thy beloved Servant (*puer* from *pais* = Fr. *Garçon* = servant) Jesus Christ, whom Thou didst send to us in the last days, a Saviour and Redeemer and Messenger of Thy will, who is Thine inseparable Word, well-pleasing unto Thee, and through whom Thou didst make all things. Thou didst send Him from heaven into a virgin’s womb, who, being conceived, was incarnate and shown to be Thy Son (*filius*), born of the Holy Spirit and a virgin; who, fulfilling Thy will, and acquiring for Thee a holy people, stretched out His hands when He suffered that he might free from suffering those who had believed on Thee;

Words of Institution 設立聖餐

當祂自願被賣，受苦，好叫祂滅絕死亡，破碎魔鬼的捆綁，在腳下踐踏地獄，光照義人，定下疆界的時候，祂曾說：你們要領受，這是我的身體，為你們捨的。飯後同樣拿起杯來，說：這是我的血，為你們流的，你們喝的時候，當記念我。

“Who, also, when He was of His own free will betrayed to suffering that He might destroy death, break the fetters of the devil, tread hell underfoot, illumine the righteous, fix the boundary, and manifest His resurrection, taking bread and giving thanks to Thee, said, Take ye, eat ye, this is My body, which is broken for you. After the same manner, He took the cup, saying, This is My blood, which is shed for you; as oft as ye do this, ye make My memorial.

Oblation and Epiclesis 供獻聖餐，求降聖靈禱文

因此，我們為了記念祂的死與復活，獻上這餅和杯；感謝你看我們配得站在你面前，侍候你。

“Wherefore, mindful of His death and resurrection, we offer unto Thee this bread and cup, giving Thee thanks that Thou hast counted us worthy to stand before Thee and to minister unto Thee.

我們也祈求你差你的聖靈在你的聖教會的供獻上；叫它們既然合而為一，你就賜恩給所有領受的屬你的聖徒，叫他們被聖靈充滿，他們的信心堅定，叫我們在你的聖教會裏讚美你，歸榮耀給你，聖父，聖子，聖靈，從今時直到永遠。

“And we beseech Thee, that Thou wouldst send Thy Holy Spirit upon this oblation of Thy holy Church; that, uniting them into one, Thou mayest grant to all Thy holy ones who receive that their faith may be confirmed in truth in the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit, that we may laud and glorify Thee; through Thy Servant (*puerum*) Jesus Christ, through whom be glory and honour unto Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in Thy holy Church, both now and for evermore.

會眾說：以前這樣，現在這樣，以後也這樣，永世無窮，直到永遠，阿們。

“*And the people shall say: As it was, is, and ever shall be, world without end, and for evermore. Amen.*”

下面主教獻上一系列三個禱告，求上帝讓會眾配領受恩惠與福分，由執事指示會眾。然後舉餅，舉餅時如此啟應：

Then follows a series of three brief prayers by the bishop for worthy reception and the true benefits thereof, the deacon directing the people. Then the elevation follows, with this dialogue:

執事說：讓我們來侍候。

“*The deacon shall say: Let us attend.*

主教：聖物當歸聖者。

And the bishop: Holy things to the holy.

會眾說：獨一聖父，獨一聖子，獨一聖靈。

And the people shall say: One holy Father, one holy Son, one is the Holy Spirit.

主教說：願主與你們眾人同在。

The bishop shall say: The Lord be with you all.

會眾說：也與你的靈同在。

And the people shall say: And with thy spirit.”

（會眾上前來領餐，之後聚會以禱告與祝福結束。提示不清楚；可能先由牧師禱告，然後主教祝福。）

[The people then come forward to receive, after which the service concludes with a prayer and blessing. The rubrics are not clear, but probably the first prayer was said by a presbyter, and the second, the blessing, given by the bishop.]

***Presbyter's Prayer* 長老禱告**

全能的上帝，我們的救主耶穌基督的父，我們向你獻上感謝，因為你賜恩給

我們，領受你聖潔的奧秘：願你的奧秘顯明，不使我們被定罪，而使我們的靈，魂，體都被更新；都藉著...

“God Almighty, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, we give Thee thanks, because Thou hast imparted to us the reception of Thy holy Mystery: let it not be for guilt or condemnation, but for the renewal of soul and body and spirit; through &c.

會眾回應：阿們。

“*And the people shall say: Amen.*

長老說：願主與你們同在。

And the presbyter shall say: The Lord be with you.

會眾說：也與你的靈同在。

And the people shall say: And with thy spirit.”

***Bishop's blessing, given with outstretched hand* 主教伸手祝福**

永恆全能的上帝，我們的救主耶穌基督的父，求你賜福給你的僕人們和使女們；藉你天使長的能力，保護他們，幫助他們，使他們道路亨通。求你用你的威嚴，保守、堅定他們敬畏你的心；賜他們恩典，叫他們思想你的心意，相信你的啟話語，意旨你所意旨的；又求賜他們平安，脫離罪惡與惱怒；都藉著...

“Eternal God Almighty, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, bless Thy servants and Thy handmaids; protect, help, and prosper them by the power of Thine archangel. Keep and confirm in them Thy fear by Thy greatness; provide that they shall both think what is Thine and believe what is Thine and will what is Thine; grant to them peace without sin and anger; through, &c.

會眾回應：阿們。

“*And the people shall say: Amen.*

主教說：願主與你們眾人同在。

And the bishop shall say: The Lord be with you all.

會眾說：也與你的靈同在。

And the people shall say: And with thy spirit.

執事說：平平安安的去罷。

And the deacon shall say: Go in peace.”

Quoted in William D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 21-25.

DOCUMENT 11

羅馬的希坡律陀，《使徒遺傳》

Hippolytus of Rome, *The Apostolic Tradition*

「我們對第三世紀教會的崇拜儀式比較清楚...。最重要的文獻是在一本古希臘文的文獻《使徒遺傳》(*The Apostolic Tradition*)中，羅馬的希坡律陀 (Hippolytus of Rome) 所記下的資料。

「那份文獻記載一個完整的聖餐禱告。雖然當時教會鼓勵每個人根據自己的能力禱告，但也提供給教會領袖一個禱告的範本。那份禱告詞一開始的問安 (Salutation) 和振起你心 (*Sursum corda*)，原來都是以色列人崇拜的一部分。文獻中沒有提到《聖哉經》(Sanctus) (賽 6: 3)，但可能是因為很常用；文獻中也沒有提到音樂，因為音樂也成了崇拜不可少的一部分。朗誦式的禱告、讀經，以及唱詩篇和詩歌，在當時都已非常普遍。」(赫士德，《當代聖樂與崇拜》，頁 188。)

話語的敬拜

經文誦讀
信息
代禱
親嘴問安

聖餐的聚會

奉獻 – 把聖餐用品帶到聖桌上

祝聖禱文 Prayer of Consecration

敬禮文(問安) Salutation (主領者和會眾彼此請安)

願上帝與你同在：也與你的靈同在

獻心頌(振起你心) (*Sursum corda*)

振起你心：我們的心像上帝振起。

讓我們向上帝獻上感謝：我們理當如此行。

為救贖歷史感謝 Thanksgiving for Redemption (講述道成肉身，耶穌的生平、受難和復活)

設立聖餐 Words of Institution (「祂拿起餅來，祝謝」等)

憶念禱文(「如此行，是為了記念祂的死和復活」等)

供獻聖餐 Oblation (「我們向你獻上餅和杯」等)

求降聖靈文 Epiclesis (「我們求你差遣聖靈」等)

三一頌，會眾同聲說阿們。

恭守聖餐 Communion

長老禱告；會眾回應阿們 Presbyter's prayer

主教祝禱，散會 Bishop's blessing; dismissal

「以現代人的眼光來看，當時以守聖餐為主的崇拜，也可以算是一種福音性的聚會。長老禱告完畢，會眾領受了「神聖的奧秘」，「不是因為罪過或懲治，乃是有靈、魂、體的更新」。當時領受聖餐，是一種獻祭，變質說 (transubstantiation) 的觀念並不存在。」（赫士德，頁 190。）

T.S. Garrett, *Christian Worship*, London: Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 51-55;
William D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms*,
London: Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 21-25. Quoted in Donald Hustad, *Jubilate II* – Chinese translation: 赫士德，《當代聖樂與崇拜》，謝林芳蘭譯，臺北：校園書房出版社，1998，頁 188-190。

參考：Robert E. Webber, 《崇拜：認古識今》。

DOCUMENT 12

《使徒遺傳》，第八卷，或《革利免的敬拜程序》，約 A.D. 380
THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, BOOK VIII, OR
“CLEMENTINE LITURGY,” c. A.D. 380

（留傳到現代最完整的敬拜程序，是《使徒遺傳》第八卷，約主後 380 年。這時候羅馬帝國已經不再禁止人信基督教。）

(The first complete liturgy preserved to modern times is that contained in Book VIII of the Apostolic Constitutions, belonging approximately to the year A.D. 380. By this time the Imperial ban upon Christianity had been lifted, and the disciplina arcane, accordingly, was relaxed.

（關於這裏記載的所謂「革利免的敬拜程序」，學者們有不少的猜測。有人認為這只不過是私人的匯編，不是活的傳統。不錯，這是個人的匯編，因為流傳到我們的版本，是《伊革拿修書信》的作者寫的；他用了七件真確的文獻，再加上他自己的六件文件。同樣地，這個程序裏一些部份像是他的手筆與教義。其中一個例子就是他擴大了分別為聖禱告中的前言。不過毫無疑問地，這篇程序整體來說來自這時期的一個活的傳統；而它的確代表了 350-380 年時期敘利亞教會的敬拜方式，特別是安提阿教會。再者，它代表了所有東方教會禮儀的起源。）

(There has been considerable speculation about this so-called Clementine Liturgy, and some scholars have maintained that it was never a living rite but simply a private compilation. That it was a private compilation is true, for, in the form in which it has come down to us, it is from the pen of the same person that edited the *Epistles of Ignatius*, adding to the seven authentic letters six others of his own. Similarly, parts of this liturgy in style and doctrine bear evidence of his hand. A particular instance of this occurs in his vast expansion of the preface of the Consecration Prayer. But there can also be no doubt that the liturgy as a whole is based upon a living rite of the period, and *that it certainly represents the actual worship of the Syrian Church*, particularly in the city of Antioch, about A.D. 350-80; and further, that it may be taken as *exemplifying the parent-rite of all the Eastern liturgies*.

（作為一個對第四世紀敬拜的見證，這篇程序的價值是獨特的，因為這不是一本採用多年，多次修改的崇拜指引。這段文字被收藏在一本《教會生活手冊》中，一千多年來沒有更改過。）

(As a contemporary witness to fourth-century worship its value is unique, for it is not a service book that has been in continuous use, subject to change and revision. Embedded in “a manual of ecclesiastical life” which had been lost for centuries, it comes to us unaltered.

（除了在第八卷的程序以外，還有第二卷裏一個類似的程序，來源可能更早...）

(Besides the liturgy in Book VIII there is also the summary of a similar rite in Book II, which may be derived from a somewhat earlier source. ...)
 (Maxwell, pp. 26-27.)

程序 LITURGY

The Liturgy of the Word

[Prayers: Litanies, &c.?)

Lections from Law, Prophets, Epistles, Acts, Gospels, interspersed with psalms sung by cantors

Sermons

Dismissal of catechumens, &c.; four classes in all, after a separate deacon's litany and bishop's prayer of blessing has been said for each class

Liturgy of the Upper Room

Deacon's litany and bishop's prayer for the faithful

Salutation and response

Kiss of Peace, with words and response

Offertory: Ceremonial washing of bishop's and presbyters' hands

Presentation of elements at Holy Table by deacons

Vesting of celebrant in a "splendid vestment"

"Fencing" of Table by chief deacon

Sursum corda, preceded by salutation

Consecration of Prayer;

Preface: Thanksgiving for Creation and Providence (very long)

Sanctus

Thanksgiving for Redemption

Anamnesis: Words of Institution

Memorial and Oblation

Epiclesis

Great Intercession

[Lord's Prayer?]

Deacon's litany and bishop's prayer

Elevation: "Holy things, &c.", with response

Gloria in excelsis (Luke 2:14 only)

Benedictus qui venit (Matt. 21:9, AND THE WORDS, "God is the Lord, and hath appeared unto us")

Delivery: "The Body of Christ"; "The Blood of Christ: the cup of life"

Communion, while Psalm 34 is sung

Deacon's Exhortation and Bidding

Bishop's post-communion, thanksgiving, and intercession

Bishop's prayer of blessing

Dismissal of people by deacon

Greek text: F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, vol. 1. Oxford, 1896, pp. 3ff.

English translation: F.E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Anti-Nicene Church*, London, 2nd ed., 1912, pp. 258ff; and R.H. Cresswell, *The Liturgy of the VIIIth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions*, London, ed. 1934. Quoted in Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship*, 26-34.

儀式 THE RITE

（我們引用第二卷裏的一段，就可看出會眾是如何安置的：）
(A quotation from Book II shows how the congregation was disposed:)

主教啊，當你聚集上帝的教會的時候，好像一條大船的船長，要讓聚集的會眾用悟性領受你的指示；你要給執事們指示，好像向水手一樣；叫執事們給弟兄們他們應作的，好像向士兵發出號令，都要極其謹慎敬虔。

When thou assemblest the Church of God, do thou, O bishop, like the captain of a great ship with all understanding command the assemblies to be made, giving directions to the deacons, as to sailors, to assign their places unto the brethren, as to embarking soldiers, with all care and reverence.

首先，教堂必須是長方形的，朝東方，在東邊的兩旁都有聖器收藏室 (sacristies)，就像一條船一樣。讓主教的寶座放置在（教堂東段 apse 的）中間，長老們的座位在主教的兩邊；讓執事站在旁邊，都穿著華麗的衣服。因為他們像水手和划船的管工一般，在船的兩旁，安靜、有紀律的侍候。讓婦女分開坐，保持安靜。

And, in the first place, let the building be oblong, pointing towards the east, having at the east sacristies at both sides, like a ship. And let the bishop's throne be in the centre [i.e. of the apse at the east end], and let the seats of the presbyters be on both sides of him, and let the deacons stand by, well equipped in light raiment. For they are like sailors and overseers of the rowers on each side of the ship. By their care, let the laymen be seated on one side, with all quietness and order. And let the women be seated apart, and keep silent.

（聚會如何開始，我們不太清楚；可能有不同的詩歌或總禱文，好像後來的程序一樣；不過我們這份文獻首先提到的，是讀經。似乎誦讀多段經文，每段偏長；從《聖經》不同部份選出，先後是：律法書，歷史書，約伯記與智慧書，先知書，使徒行傳，使徒書信，和福音書。）

(Precisely how the service began is uncertain; there may have been preliminary singings and litanies as in the later liturgies, but the first thing mentioned in our texts is the lections. These seem to have been both numerous and long, and were drawn from each section of the Bible in this order: the Law, historical books, Job and the Wisdom books, the Prophets, Acts, Epistles, and Gospels.)

（第二卷：Book II:）

經文要兩段兩段的頌讀，每兩段之後要唱大衛的詩篇，讓會眾在每一節的末了唱回應。... 之後，讓一位執事或長老讀出福音書。... 福音書讀畢，會眾全體 ... 安靜肅立，因為經上說：「以色列啊，要安靜聽」，又說：「你們要在這裏站立聆聽。」
Let the lections be read two by two, and afterwards let another sing hymns of David, and the people sing in reply at the ends of the verses. ... And after that, let a deacon or a presbyter read the Gospels. ... And when the Gospel is read, let all ... stand with much silence, for it is written, "Be silent and hear, O Israel," and again, "Stand thou here, and hear."

(誦讀聖經之後有講道數篇：)
(The lections are followed by the sermons:)

之後，讓長老們向會眾勸勉，一個一個輪流說，不過不要所有的長老都講；最後主教勸勉，好像船長一樣。

Next, let the presbyters exhort the people, one at a time, but not all of them; and last of all the bishop, as becomes the captain of a ship.

(第八卷提到講道之間的問安：)
(Book VIII mentions a salutation before the sermon:)

讓被按立為主教的向教會問安，說：願我們的主耶穌基督的恩惠，上帝的慈愛，聖靈的交通與你們眾人同在。會眾全體回應：也與你的靈同在。

Let him who is ordained bishop salute the Church, saying The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. And let all answer, And with thy spirit.

(講道完畢後，執事指示沒有資格領聖餐者散會。這裏提到四種人：學道徒 (catechumens)，被邪靈付的，預備領受洗禮，受高級培訓者，和接受教會懲戒者。執事指示每一類人站立，與他啟應一段總禱文，然後他們鞠躬領受主教的祝福禱告，由執事指示他們散會離場。對啟應文每一句的回應乃是： *Kyrie eleison*，願主憐憫我們。文獻中加上了可愛的一段：「特別讓兒童們作答。」教會好像家一樣，小孩子站在他們的父母的管教下，也參與教會的敬拜聚會。程序在此結束。)
(When the sermons were ended, not all entitled to take part in the Liturgy of the Faithful were dismissed by the deacon. Of these, four classes are mentioned: the catechumens, those possessed of evil spirits, those candidates for baptism undergoing advanced instruction, and those under discipline. At the deacon's bidding, each class stood up in turn and joined with him in a litany, after which in each case they bowed to receive the bishop's prayer of blessing and were then dismissed by the deacon. To each clause of the litanies all made the reply, *Kyrie eleison*, and a charmingly intimate touch is found in the rubric, "more especially let the little children answer." It is a homely picture, the children "standing by under the charge of their fathers and mothers" and taking their part in the worship of the Church. So the Liturgy of the Word concludes.

(下面只剩下信眾，執事們謹慎地檢查會眾，確定每人的地位都正確，母親們管著她們的孩子們，分開站立。有人管門，不讓人進出；又有人「巡視會眾，確定沒有人干擾聖餐，沒有人點頭，低聲說話，或入睡。」第二卷接著說：「因為注意聽主的話的時候要用悟性，儆醒的心肅立，是合宜的。」)

(Now only the faithful remain, and the deacons carefully scrutinize their ranks to see that all are in their proper place and order, with mothers in charge of children standing apart. Others guard the doors that none may leave or enter; and others "walk about and observe the men and women, so that there be no disturbance, and that none may nod, whisper, or

sleep.” Book II adds “for it is right to stand wisely and soberly and watchfully, with the hearing attentive to the Word of the Lord.”

（聖餐聚會開始時，執事帶領禱文，為了世界的和平與福樂，為了聖而公的使徒的教會，為了教區主教，眾長老、牧師門，在位掌權者，和地出產的果實，為所有有病的，被囚的，被放逐的，所有的兒童，和所有的人。主教的禱告是這段禱文的總綱；然後彼此問平安。

(The Liturgy of the Faithful begins with a comprehensive deacon’s litany for “the peace and welfare of the world,” “the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church,” the diocese and all bishops, presbyters, ministers and rulers, the fruits of the earth, all in sickness, prison or exile, the children, and all men. The bishop’s prayer summarizes and concludes the litany; then the Peace is given:

讓執事說：讓我們侍候。

“Let the deacon say: Let us attend.

主教向教會問安說：願上帝的平安與你們眾人同在。

Let the bishop salute the Church and say: The peace of God be with you all.

會眾回應說：也與你的靈同在。

And let the people answer: And with thy spirit.

執事向全會眾說：你們要彼此以聖潔的親嘴問安。

And let the deacon say to all: Salute ye one another with a holy kiss.

讓牧師們向主教問安，平信徒男的與男的，女的與女的問安。

And let the clergy salute the bishop, and the laymen the laymen, and the women the women.”

（接下來的是奉獻。一位執事拿水來給主教和長老們行洗手禮，作為「純潔的心靈，獻上給上帝」的象徵；執事長就「圍起」(fences) 聖餐桌子，禁止「不是信徒者」，或「與弟兄們有不和的」，或是「信仰虛偽者」留在聚會中，同時呼召所有「以敬畏的心站在上帝面前的人」把奉獻獻上。）

(The offertory follows. A deacon provides water for the bishop and presbyters to wash their hands ceremonially, as “a symbol of the purity of souls dedicated to God”; and the chief deacon “fences” the Table, forbidding any “who are not of the faithful,” or “who have aught against any,” or who “are in hypocrisy” to remain, bidding all “with fear and trembling to stand upright before the Lord to offer.”

之後，執事們把奉獻帶到聖桌前主教面前。讓長老們在在主教的左右兩邊，好像門徒站在老師旁邊一樣。

“After which let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the Holy Table. And let the presbyters stand on his right hand and on his left, as disciples standing by a teacher.”

（同時主教默默禱告，然後穿上華麗的衣服，站在聖餐桌前，面向會眾，在自己的額頭上作十字架的記號，然後以使徒的祝福詞向會眾問安。然後主教以「振起你心」呼召會眾禱告。他開始作嚴肅的份別為聖禱告。

(The bishop meanwhile prays in silence, then putting on “a splendid vestment,” and standing at the Holy Table facing the people, he makes the sign of the cross on his forehead, and salutes the people with the apostolic Grace. Then calling them to prayer with the *Sursum corda*, he begins the solemn Consecration Prayer:

「永活的上帝啊，在一切事之前先來歸榮耀給你，真是合宜的，正當的，因為你在所有被造之物以先，天地一切萬物都是以你命名的；惟有你是不受生的，沒有開始...

“It is truly meet and right, before all things to glorify Thee who art the living God, who art before the beginning of created things, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named; who alone art unbegotten, without beginning ...”

(在這裏 Duchesne 為這禱文作出優美的描述：)
(Duchesne’s fine description of this great prayer...:

「聖餐禱告從讚美上帝的威嚴開始：無人可以隨便親近祂；然後述說祂賜所有被造物的一切好處，數算所有自然界和恩典的奇妙；回想舊約裏偉大的預表，最後回到聖所的奧秘，上帝自己在那裏與諸靈同住，天使門在祂面前唱永恆之歌...

(“The eucharistic prayer goes on, starting from the majesty of the unapproachable God, passing in review all His benefits conferred upon His creatures, enumerating all the wonders of nature and grace, appealing to the great types of the ancient covenant, and concluding at length by a return to the mysterious sanctuary, in which the Divinity rests in the midst of spirits, where the Cherubim and Seraphim sing together the eternal hymn. ...

這時整個會眾高聲唱（聖哉經），與天上天使的詩班同唱：聖哉，聖哉，聖哉...

“At this point the whole congregation raise their voices [in the *Sanctus*], joining with the choir of angels in their hymn, ‘Holy, Holy, Holy, ...’

「唱完詩候，再一次靜默，然後主教繼續剛才中斷的聖餐禱告：「是的，你真是聖潔的主...」他在禱告中記念上帝的救贖大功：道成肉身，祂在地上的生活與受難。這時主持聖餐者的即時變化，大體上根據福音書裏最後晚餐的記載，耶穌在祂死前的晚上第一次講的話，這時在聖餐桌上復述。

“The hymn being ended, there is once more silence, and the bishop then proceeds with the Eucharistic prayer which has been interrupted: ‘Yea, truly Thou art holy ...’, and he commemorates the work of Redemption, the incarnation of the Word, and His earthly life and passion. At this moment the improvisation of the celebrant follows closely the Gospel account of the Last Supper, and the mysterious words spoken for the first time by Jesus on the eve of His death are repeated at the Holy Table.

然後主教用「你們這樣作，是為了記念我」為經文，作簡短的勸勉，讓會眾回憶上帝兒子的受難 (anamnesis)，祂的死，復活，升天，和祂將來回來的榮耀盼望。主教宣告，會眾為了記念這些事件，向上帝獻聖餐的餅與杯，是合乎基督的吩咐的。最後，他祈求主悅納這些供獻，以聖靈自己 (epiclesis) 降臨在奉獻上，以致餅與杯稱為基督的身體與寶血，祂的信徒們的屬靈糧食，和她們永生的印記。」

Thereupon the bishop, taking as his text the last words, 'Do this in memory of Me', expands them, recalling to memory [in the anamnesis] the passion of the Son of God, His death, resurrection, ascension, and the hope of His glorious return, declaring that it is truly in keeping with Christ's command, and in commemorating these events that the congregation offers to God this Eucharistic bread and wine. Finally, he prays the Lord to regard the oblation with favour, and [in the epiclesis] to cause to descend upon in the virtue of His Holy Spirit, in order that it may be made the body and blood of Christ, the spiritual food of His faithful people, and the pledge of their immortality.'

此時主教繼續作「大代禱」(the Great Intercession)，很自然地放在聖餐禱告之後。(And now the bishop goes on to the Great Intercession, joining it to the Eucharistic prayer as a natural sequence:)

「主啊，我們為你聖潔的教會禱告，祂分散在世界各處，... 求你保守她，使她堅固不動搖，免受患難，... 我也為我自己禱告，我本不算什麼，現在我奉獻自己給你，... 為所有執事和所有牧師禱告，... 為皇帝禱告，... 為一切在位的，為軍隊禱告，為歷代以來討你喜悅的聖徒，... 你曉得他們的名字，... 我們為這些聖民禱告，... 為同貞女們，... 為寡婦們禱告，... 為要生產的婦女，... 為嬰孩們禱告，... 為這個城市禱告，... 為患病的人禱告，為為奴者禱告，為被放逐者禱告，為被囚者禱告，... 為恨惡我們的，為你的名逼迫我們的人禱告，為走迷路的人禱告，... 為學道者禱告，為被鬼付的人禱告，為懺悔的人禱告，... 為好的天氣禱告，為地生產地五穀禱告，... 為不在我們中間的人禱告。因為一切榮耀，敬拜，感謝，尊貴，讚美，都當歸給聖父，聖子和聖靈，從今時直到永遠，萬世無窮。」

"We pray thee, O Lord, for Thy holy Church spread from one end of the world to the other, ... that Thou wouldst keep it unshaken and untroubled ..., and for myself, who am nothing, now offering to Thee, ... for the deacons and for all the clergy ..., for the king, ... for those in authority, the army, for the saints in all ages who have pleased Thee, ... whose names Thou knowest ..., for this people, ... the virgins, ... widows, ... women in labour, ... and for the babes, ... for this city, ... the sick, those in bitter slavery, in exile, in prison, ... those that hate and persecute us for Thy Name's sake, those who wander, ... the catechumens, those possessed of demons, the penitents, ... for seasonable weather, the fruits of the earth, ... the absent. For unto Thee is due all glory, worship, and thanksgiving, honour, and adoration, to the Father, and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, both now and ever unto all perpetual and endless ages of ages."

會眾說：阿們，然後通常在這裏，可以誦讀主禱文。然後主教向會眾問安，他們也回答；之後執事帶領一個簡短的啟應文，主教作散會的禱告，會眾說：阿們。

(The people say Amen; and in common usage the Lord's Prayer may have followed. The bishop then salutes the people, and they reply; after which the deacon leads them in a brief litany, the bishop concluding with a brief prayer, the people saying Amen.

執事呼叫：「讓我們侍候！」，主教在全會眾面前舉起餅和杯，大聲說：「聖物歸於聖者！」會眾回答說：「只有一位聖者，就是獨一的主耶穌基督，願榮耀歸給父上帝，祂永遠配得稱讚。阿們。」

(The deacon then cries, “Let us attend!”, and the bishop, elevating the Bread and the Cup in the sight of the people, says aloud, “Holy things to the holy”, to which the people answer, “There is one Holy, one Lord Jesus Christ; unto the glory of God the Father, blessed for ever. Amen.”

之後唱「榮耀歸與至高上帝」，按照經文的樣式；之後唱「和散拿」（太 21：9）和 *Benedictus qui venit*：
(Then the angels’ hymn, “Glory to god in the highest,” was sung in its Scriptural form, followed by the “Hosanna” and *Benedictus qui venit*, in this form:

「和散拿歸與大衛的子孫。

奉主的名而來的，是應當稱頌的。

上帝是主，祂已向我們顯現。

至高之處和散拿！」

“Hosanna to the Son of David.

Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord.

God is the Lord, and hath appeared unto us.

Hosanna in the highest!”

（與此同時，或之後馬上舉行擘餅，分餅，和領餐：）
(Meanwhile, or immediately afterwards, the fraction took place, followed by the delivery and communion:)

「之後，讓主教領聖餐，然後長老（牧師），們，執事們，副執事們，讀經的，唱詩的，修身的，女執事，童貞女，和寡婦們；然後兒童；然後其他的會眾順序，以敬畏虔誠的心，毫無騷擾。」

“And after this, let the bishop communicate, then the presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, ascetics, and of the women the deaconesses, virgins, and widows; afterwards the children; and then all the people in order, with reverence and piety, without disturbance.”

（主教拿餅服事，一位執事拿杯服事，會眾：所有領聖餐者，到樓階上或聖所中領餐。領聖餐時唱詩篇 34 篇：「你們要嘗嘗主恩的滋味，就知道祂是美善」這些字句有特殊意義。之後，執事們把剩下的撿起，拿回聖器收藏室 sacristy 裏。）

(The bishop ministered the Bread and a deacon the Cup, the people, all of whom communicated, coming forward to the steps of the apse or sanctuary to receive. During communion there was said Psalm 34, where the words, “O taste and see that the Lord is good,” have special significance. Afterwards “the deacons take what remains and carry it into the sacristy.”

（唱詩完畢，執事吩咐會眾感恩，帶領他們作禱告：）
(When the singing has ceased, the deacon bids the people to thanksgiving, leading them in a bidding prayer:

「向祂（禱告），祂向我們保證，我們參與祂的神聖奧秘，好叫成為我們的救恩，使我們身體靈魂都得著好處，罪得赦免，今生和來生都是如此。」

“Unto Him who hath vouchsafed unto us to be the participators in His holy Mysteries, ... that they may be ... to our salvation, for the benefit of soul and body, ... for remission of sins, and for life in the world to come.”

（然後他說：「讓我們起立」，主教在整個動作的高潮時作一個簡短的感恩，祈求，和代求的禱告。之後執事吩咐會眾低頭，主教作最後的祝福禱告，結束時歸讚美給上帝。這樣，崇拜就結束，執事說：「你們平安散會。」）

(He then says, “Let us rise,” and the bishop epitomizes the whole action in a brief thanksgiving, supplication, and intercession. Afterwards, at the deacon’s bidding, the people bow their heads as the bishop says a final prayer of blessing, concluding with an ascription of praise. The service has ended, and the deacon says, “Ye are dismissed in peace.”)

[Maxwell 評註：

[這裏所描述的，是一般的敬拜；不是觀看的戲劇，也不是「一腳踢」的聖禮主義。會眾是參與敬拜的；而所有動作都以聖桌為中心。整個崇拜充滿著基督真正臨在 (the Real Presence) 的意識。從現代的標準來衡量，崇拜比較長，但是不要忘記，東方的教會就是以繁瑣為特徵。再者，聚會雖然是長，可是並不感覺到拖長；整個崇拜沒有中斷，一直進展到終點。終點乃是聖餐的祝聖和領餐；終點達到之後，聚會很快就結束。]

[Maxwell’s comments:

[What is here portrayed is common worship; it is not a drama that may be watched but not shared, nor do we encounter the modern sacerdotalism of the single voice. All participate, the centre of the action being at the Holy Table. Throughout there is a strong sense of the Real Presence. Judged by modern standards, the worship was lengthy, but it must not be forgotten that the Eastern genius expressed itself most effectively in elaboration. Moreover, if lengthy, this worship did not halt or drag; there was unbroken progress towards a grand culmination. That culmination was consecration and communion; and after it had been reached the service quickly ended.]

[我們也觀察到《聖經》在會眾敬拜中的重要位置。不僅有啟應，詩篇，和聖詩，都取自《聖經》，而且讀經和解經都是儀式的不可或缺的部份。因此崇拜有教育的成分，好叫會眾參與的時候能明白神聖奧秘的儀式。這是早期教會敬拜的特點。]

[We may observe the important place given in this corporate worship to the Holy Scriptures. Not only are the responses, psalms, and hymns drawn from the Scriptures, but the lections and their exposition are an integral part of the rite. So a didactic element is provided which is essential to intelligent participation in the holy Mysteries. This was characteristic of the worship of the early Church.]

William D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 26-34.

DOCUMENT 13

《使徒憲章》(*The Apostolic Constitutions*)，約 A.D. 380

話語的敬拜

讀經（取自新約和舊約，特別是書信和福音書）
 朗誦詩篇與讀經（有時是領唱者唱，有時是領唱者和會眾對唱）
 信息（由幾個長老講道）
 不領聖餐者散會（包括信主但還未受洗者）

聖餐的聚會

信徒的總禱文
 彼此問安（「上帝與你同在」等，或讚美三位一體真神的禱告）
 親嘴問安
 奉獻
 主教和長老洗手
 獻上餅、酒及祭物
 圍住聖餐桌（避免不合資格的人領聖餐）
 主教穿上華麗的外衣；在額頭上畫一個十字架
 聖餐的禱告
 獻心頌（振起你心）
 序禱（感謝上帝的供應，從祂創造天地開始）
 聖哉頌（「聖哉，聖哉，聖哉，萬軍之耶和華」等）
 感謝上帝的道成肉身和救贖的工作
 設立聖餐（「主耶穌被賣的那一晚，拿起餅來」等，也提到基督第二次的再來）
 求降聖靈禱文（「...，差遣聖靈降臨這祭物上 ... 求聖靈讓我們看見，餅就是基督的身體，凡領受這餅的必大得益處」）
 代禱（十個段落）
 主禱文
 三一頌；會眾同聲說阿們
 執事的總禱文及主教的禱告
 聖餐的宣召（「給聖徒的聖物」）
 榮耀頌（在至高之處榮耀歸與上帝，路 2: 14）
 和散那；奉主名來的是應當稱頌的（太 21: 9）
 恭守聖餐，唱詩篇 34 篇（「要嘗嘗主恩的滋味，便知道祂是美善」）
 主教的感恩禱告、代禱與祝福
 散會

赫士德，《當代聖樂與崇拜》，頁 191-192。

DOCUMENT 14

東方教會禮儀的發展，第四世紀之後

DEVELOPMENTS IN RITUAL AND CEREMONIAL IN THE EAST, AFTER THE 4TH CENTURY

程序 THE LITURGY

這段時期發展了一段神職人員預備的崇拜 (prothesis)。當牧師們穿衣服，準備聖餐的餅和杯的時候，有禱告，每一項禱告都與所作的動作的奧秘意義有關。這崇拜通常在聖器收藏室 (sacristy) 舉行，同時會眾進堂，同時有另一位牧師向準備敬拜的會眾灑香。

The service of the prothesis, a private preparation of the clergy, appears. It consisted of prayers said while the ministers vested and prepared the elements, each prayer relating to the mystical meaning of what was being done. This service usually took place in the sacristy as the people were assembling, and meanwhile another minister censured the people preparatory to worship.

更重要的是，在第四世紀之前，甚至在會堂的崇拜就有另外一項目，就是在讀經之前的預備。通常是禱告，唱詩，揉合了讚美，懺悔，愛慕，和祈求；而最重要的是執事的總禱文。第四世紀之後，這項預備，雖然形式各有不同，就固定在所有的崇拜秩序裏。

A more important addition, probably earlier than the fourth century, with its origins lying far back in the Synagogue services, was a preparation before the reading of the Holy Scriptures. It usually consisted of various prayers and singings, mingling praise, penitence, adoration, and supplication, the dominant feature being the deacon's litanies. After the fourth century this preparation, in some form, is a constant feature in all the liturgies.

在這段時期，誦讀的經課開始固定化。一般來說，經課減到兩段：使徒書信與福音書；在特別節期時，舊約，或使徒行傳，或啟示錄會取代使徒書信，或是另加這些經課。有例外的，例如 Coptic（非洲）的禮儀中，保留著四段新約經課，和在亞米尼亞 (Armenia) 的禮儀中，舊約經課與書信和福音書一樣，經常被誦讀。

About this time the lections tended to be fixed. Their number was gradually reduced normally to two, an Epistle and Gospel, but at certain seasons a passage from the Old Testament or from the Acts or the Revelation was included in place of or in addition to the Epistle. There were other exceptions, such as in the Coptic rite which retained four lections from the New Testament, and in the Armenian where an Old Testament lection is a constant feature as well as the Epistle and Gospel.

東方的教會比西方教會早開始在禮儀中有誦讀信經的習慣。從第六世紀開始，在信徒的禮儀（聖餐）中就出現，與奉獻和領聖餐有關。從很早的時期，信經在洗禮中誦讀，因此我們可以理解，不久之後在公共崇拜中誦讀信經就成為習慣。

In the East the Creed found a place in the liturgy earlier than in the West. From the sixth century onwards it appears in the Liturgy of the Faithful, closely associated with the Offertory or Communion. Creeds were from an early period used at baptisms, and it is not surprising that they soon became an integral part of public worship.

儀式 THE RITUAL

我們來看儀式方面：第四世紀和其後，儀式不只是為了實用，而開始帶有神秘的意義，並且越來越繁瑣。

Turning from the words to the acts, we find that, during and after the fourth century, the ceremonial ceased to be merely utilitarian and acquired a mystical significance, becoming in consequence more elaborate.

例如，聖堂裏開始設有屏風，把教堂東端的半圓室 (apse) 和中堂（教堂的正廳，nave）分開。開始的時候只有一些樓階分開，不過很快就發展成簾子，在儀式較隆重的部份會關起來。第四世紀後，這個簾子發展成為屏風，除了埃及和 Cappadocia 以外，其他地方的屏風都不是透明的；屏風上有主基督，童貞女馬利亞，四福音書的作者，使徒們，和聖人的浮雕像。這些浮雕像稱為聖像 (icons)，而屏風稱為聖像牆 (iconostasis)。牆上有三道門：中間的門對著聖桌，稱為王門 (royal door)。在門上或門前可能有簾子，在祝聖的時候把聖所雙重遮蔽。

This appears, for example, in the development of the sanctuary screen, dividing the apse from the nave. At first, the only division consisted of steps, but at a fairly early period a curtain was introduced, which could be drawn at the more solemn parts of the service. After the fourth century this curtain became a screen, and, except in Egypt and Cappadocia, this screen became solid. It was formally decorated by raised pictures of our Lord, the Virgin, the Evangelists, Apostles, and saints. These pictures were known as icons, and the screen the iconostasis. In the iconostasis there were three doors, the centre one opposite the Holy Table called the Royal Door. Across or above this door a veil could be drawn in order doubly to screen the sanctuary at the consecration.

聖所的關閉，使執事顯得更重要，他的功能乃是作為主禮人和會眾之間的橋樑。在聖所舉行聖禮（神聖的奧秘）的時候，執事長通常站在聖像牆的外面，指示會眾禱告，幫助會眾了解聖所裏聖禮的進展。

The shutting off of the sanctuary increased the importance of the deacon, whose function it was to act as a link between celebrant and people. While the holy mystery was celebrated within the sanctuary, the chief deacon stood, for the most part, outside the iconostasis, directing the people's prayers and keeping them abreast of the action within.

在這時期，神職人員的禱告不再都被會眾聽到；主禮人的禱告，大部份輕輕地說出，只有在某些時刻 (the ecphonesis) 才會大聲說，聲明禱告已經結束。主禮人的禱告，很多都在唱詩或總禱文的時候說出：在東方教會有不少項目是同時舉行的，在現代的文本裏，一般會平衡印出。

The prayers were no longer said throughout in a clear voice, but most of the celebrant's prayers were recited in a subdued tone, the voice being raised (the ecphonesis) at certain points to indicate that a prayer had been concluded. Many of the celebrant's prayers were said during singings or deacon's litanies: in Eastern worship there were many concomitant parts which in modern texts are usually shown by parallel columns.

從第五世紀開始，很少會眾每一個星期都領聖餐。可是在東方的教會，還有一些項目是會眾全體參與的。執事就是管理會眾的參與的，他指示會眾應說的，和應作的動作。

From the fifth century onwards it also became increasingly unusual for the people to communicate every Sunday. But worship in the East, though highly dramatized, yet remained a common action in which all took an active part. The office of the deacon ensured this, entrusted as he was with the direction of the people's acts and words.

音樂 MUSIC

逼迫既已停止，教會在和平中增長，音樂也同時有發展的機會。起初只有一兩位領唱者，後來新的詩班組織起來了，而音樂越來越繁瑣艱難，詩班就自然地取代了會眾的參與，唱出會眾的應和。總的來說，這樣發展的後果是使崇拜的動作在榮耀的讚美禱告環境中進行，以致從崇拜的開始到結束差不多都聽到詩班唱頌的聲音。有的地方，詩班隱藏在屏風後面，如俄羅斯的教會；有時候詩班在中堂 (nave) 的圓頂 (dome) 下面，如希臘的教會。雖然音樂越來越多元化和華麗，會眾越來越少參與，可是是非常；令人震憾的，信眾往往被音樂吸引，虔誠膜拜。

Music, now that persecution had ceased and the Church was in peace, was given opportunity to develop. At first there had been only one or two cantors, but now choirs came to be formed and, as the music became more elaborate and difficult, the choir came to represent the people, voicing most of their responses. The general effect was to provide a glorious setting of praise and supplication for the whole action, so that throughout the worship the voice of the singers was seldom silent. Sometimes the choir was hidden from sight behind the screen as in the Russian Church; sometimes they took their place in the nave under the dome as in the Greek Church. And, even if the music became too diversified and elaborate for the people to take an active part in it, it was of such compelling beauty as to incite the worshipper to spiritual adoration.

福音，奉獻 GOSPEL AND OFFERTORY:

小進入與大進入 LITTLE AND GREAT ENTRANCE

第四世紀之後，誦讀福音書禮和奉獻的時候的儀式越來越顯著。這段儀式本來就非常隆重虔誠；現在就更固定和多姿多彩。聖職人員從門（屏風）穿過，這些儀式被稱為「小進入」(Little Entrance) 和「大進入」(Great Entrance)。

After the fourth century the ceremonial became more pronounced at the Gospel and Offertory. Devotion had already tended to express itself in action at these points, but now it took definite and colourful form; and because the processions passed through the doors of the sanctuary screen, they came to be known respectively as the Little and Great Entrance.

「小進入」是在誦讀福音書和唱頌 *Trisagion* 的時候。另外經課在中堂的一個 *ambo* 讀出，甚至在聖所裏讀，因為屏風並不隔聲。在讀福音書之前，執事手拿福音書（聖經），由主禮人和多位牧師和助理（侍僧）陪伴，從聖牆的北門出來，走過教堂的中間。助理拿著十字架，燈，香爐等；一面禱告，一面撒香，聖職人員吻聖經，祝聖聖經。整個遊行從王門回到聖桌；門仍然開著，執事讀出或唱出福音。福音書讀完，門就關上。

The Little Entrance occurred at the Gospel during the anthem, *Trisagion*. The other lection was read from an *ambo* in the nave, or even from within the sanctuary, for the screen was no barrier to the voice. But when the Gospel was about to be read, the deacon, bearing the Gospel Book, and accompanied by the celebrant and a procession of ministers and acolytes bearing crosses, lights, and incense, came through the north door of the iconostasis and passed down to the centre of the church, where amid censuring and prayer the Book was ceremonially blessed and kissed. The procession then returned through the Royal Door to the Holy Table, and, the door still remaining open, the deacon read or sang the Gospel. The Gospel ended, the doors were closed.

「大進入」在奉獻和唱誦詩篇 24: 7-10 的時候進行；574 年加上天使之詩歌 (Hymn of the Cherubim)。在聖所的遊行比以前更隆重。所有的牧師都參與，助理拿著燈，香爐，其他牧師拿著耶穌受難的象徵物：十字架，鞭子，荊棘（冠冕）。與「小進入」一樣，遊行穿過聖像牆的北門，主禮人手拿聖杯，執事頭上頂著聖餅的盤子 (*paten*)。杯和盤都有布遮蓋。遊行在濃厚的香霧中從教堂回到聖所的時候，就從王門進入，門被關上，簾子拉上，直到主禮人和其他聖職人員都領完聖餐。然後門就大開，主禮人和執事從王門出來，向會眾頒發聖餐。

The Great Entrance took place at the Offertory during the anthem, Psalm 24:7-10, to which was added in 574 the Hymn of the Cherubim. A more imposing procession than before was formed in the sanctuary; this time all the ministers took part, the acolytes bearing lights, the thurifers incense, and the other ministers carrying the instruments of the Passion, the cross, the spear, the scourge, and the thorns. As at the Little Entrance, the procession passed through the north door of the iconostasis, the celebrant bearing the Cup, and the deacon the *paten* upon his head. Both Cup and *paten* were veiled. When the procession returned from the church to the sanctuary amid clouds of incense, it entered the Royal Door, which was then shut and veiled, remaining so until the celebrant and his ministers had communicated. Then the doors were flung open as celebrant and deacon came through the Royal Door to give communion to the people.

第四世紀之後有另外一項改變：就是施聖餐的方法。最早的習慣似乎是：施餅，然後施杯，會眾從主禮人領餅，主禮人將餅放在會眾的手中；會眾從執事領杯。後來發展出新的作法，成為東方教會的標準作法，稱為 *intinction*。餅蘸在酒

裏，然後用調羹施給領餐者。在東方教會的禮儀中，擘餅 (fraction) 事非常隆重的：與其他項目分開，並不是在祝聖的禱告和設立聖餐的話中同時舉行（後者是聖公會禮儀中的作法）。

A change, too, took place after the fourth century in the method of giving communion. The primitive practice had been to give communion in both kinds separately, the people receiving the Bread from the celebrant, who placed it in their crossed hands, and the Cup from the deacon. But a new practice began to prevail, which became the normal method of giving communion in the East. It is known as communion by intinction: the Bread is dipped in the Wine, and then administered by means of a spoon. The Fraction was highly elaborated in the Eastern rites, where it always remained a separate action, not embedded in the Consecration Prayer when the Words of Institution are recited, as in the Anglican rite.

(William A. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship*, pp. 37-41.)

DOCUMENT 15

東正教的聖餐禮拜

西元四百年，羅馬帝國分裂為東、西兩個帝國。君士坦丁堡希望各地東正教會能有統一的信仰和崇拜儀式，藉此鞏固王權。到了西元第七世紀，東正教完成了統一的工作，所有東羅馬帝國版圖內的教會，只採用兩種拜占庭的崇拜儀式：一為聖巴西勒聖禮 (Liturgy of St. Basil)，用於四旬節 (Lent)、聖誕節、主顯節 (Epiphany) 和聖巴西勒日；另一為聖屈梭多模聖禮 (Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom)，這種儀式簡短一些，也用的多。東正教一向讓各地教會用自己的語言敬拜，例如希臘語、古斯拉夫語、羅馬尼亞語、喬治亞語、阿拉伯語，後來又有匈牙利語、日語、韓語、烏干達語、華語、愛沙尼亞語、芬蘭語、法語、英語、德語和西班牙語。有不少教會不受拜占庭的控制，他們採用類似敘利亞、阿拉伯、埃及、阿比尼西亞、印度、亞美尼亞，或英國的聖禮。東正教也讓各地教會唱自己的詩歌；現代拜占庭教會唱的配有和聲的詩歌，詩根據第十八和十九世紀俄國的詩歌演變而來的。

當然，如果想對東正教有更多的了解，最好的方法不是閱讀，而是實際參加聚會。比較東正教語天主教第崇拜儀式，我們可以看出東正教偏重於直覺多過於理性。許多人可能會認為東正教第崇拜十分「神秘」，因為東正教會認為教堂的建築和裝飾，神職人員穿的祭袍和動作，以及和崇拜有關的各樣物品（如：香爐的鈴聲與散發出來的香氣）等，都各有其象徵的意義。東正教的領袖對於這方面有他們的說詞，他們認為用聖化過的物品，可以表達超越的和無法以言語表達的事物。語言既然無法徹底地表達人的愛、詩歌、藝術和音樂，又怎能在崇拜中完全地將神表彰出來呢？

東正教崇拜所用的言詞頗為抽象與深奧；聚會中常常出現特殊的詞句和發人深省的神學用語，鼓勵會眾沉思默想。然而，大概是因為相同的詞句重複太多次，效果反而不佳（例如：每次禱告之後，匯總回應的「上主，求你憐憫」(Kyrie eleison)，計有八十次之多）；或是詠唱經文時，詩班在唱別的歌詞；也有可能是歌詞本身過分抽象吧！

東正教將空間、時間和物品聖化到極致；他們認為教堂是天堂的一部分，受洗過的信徒在教堂和神及歷代的聖徒相遇，也在教堂的聖像和建築物，以及兩次多彩多姿的行進行列（一次為展示福音書，另一次是展示聖餐用品），更在守聖餐時，與神和眾聖徒相遇。

對東正教的信徒而言，崇拜本身只是為了敬拜神，崇拜的目的不是為了傳福音，或是藉著崇拜使人成聖。

守聖餐的敬拜是遵行主耶穌的命令：「要如此行，直到我再來」，這是信徒最特殊的一項活動。要成為一個真正的信徒，就是要和主耶穌分享，一次獻

上永遠有功效的祭。我們不是因為不得已才領受這對生命極為重要的聖餐，讓基督的身體與寶血餵養我們；而是出於愛，也是心甘情願、歡喜快樂的領受聖餐。我們所追求的不外乎是所敬奉的三位一體的真神，當然因為敬拜，神可能也會加添其他祝福給我們。

一般帶領東正教崇拜的是祭司、執事和詩班。會眾可以和詩班一起唱詩和唱經文，但這種情形不多；會眾只要朗讀信經和主禱文，以及另聖餐前後跟著禱告即可。東正教信徒進了教堂以後，可以瞻仰一座聖像或點一根蠟燭，而不理會其他信徒在做什麼。

從神學觀點來看，東正教的崇拜儀式和天主教的最大不同，在於前者缺少懺悔的氣氛。雖然「上主，求你垂憐」一句，可能反覆唸上八十多遍，但是禱告的內容大都是讚美和相信，而不是懺悔。神是慈愛的，我們只要懇求祂的慈愛，承認祂的屬性和在歷史中的座位即可。此外，東正教也強調主耶穌的復活比祂在十字架上的受苦更重要。東正教在崇拜中特別加強三位一體的真理。

Donald Hustad, *Jubilate II*; 中譯：《當代聖樂與崇拜》，臺北：校園出版社，1998，頁 195-197。

DOCUMENT 16

早期教會的音樂

Music in the Early Church

根據早期教會領袖的著述，敘利亞的教會可能是最早發展基督教詩歌的（其中有些不符合基督教信仰）。巴迪珊尼斯 (Bardesanes) 和他的兒子哈摩尼斯 (Harmonius) 共寫了無數的歌詞，宣揚神秘的占星學。此外，為了反駁亞流 (Arius) 認為耶穌不完全是神的學說，正統的和非正統的教派，利用詩歌來支持他們的論點。在東方，賽瑞斯 (Ephraem Syrus) 是以詩歌辯駁亞流學說最成功的例子，人們稱他為「聖靈的琴」(The cithern of the Holy Spirit)。在西方，米蘭的安波羅修 (Ambrose of Milan)，譜寫純全信仰的歌詞，反駁亞流派的詩歌。安波羅修發展一套簡單的、節奏清晰的，以及一個字對一個音的詩歌，這些詩歌很受一般會眾的喜愛，多數是根據世俗的歌曲改編。

早期教會惟一提到以音樂傳福音的是尼西塔 (Niceta of Remesiana，約 335-414 年)。他是到大西亞 (Dacia，愛巴爾幹半島) 傳福音的宣教士，也可能是著名拉丁聖詩《我們讚美主》(Te Deum Laudamus) 的作者。耶柔米 (Jerome, 約 340-420 年) 曾提到，尼西塔愛第四世紀「唱十字架美好的詩歌」，向外邦人傳福音。

Donald Hustad, *Jubilate II*, 中譯：《當代聖樂與崇拜》，臺北：校園出版社，1998，頁 192-193。

DOCUMENT 17

東方教會敬拜儀式中的神秘意義

**MYSTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ACTS OF
WORSHIP: EASTERN CHURCH**

In the East piety came to invest every action with a mystical significance. These actions often had their origin in practical necessity, but gradually a highly imaginative devotional meaning was attached to them. A brief quotation from Frere serves to illustrate this:

“The entry of the Gospel, brought in with great procession and preceded by lights, shows the coming of the Saviour into the world: the Book is regarded as representing the presence of the incarnate Lord. The *Trisagion* of the congregation corresponds to the *Gloria in excelsis* of the angels; the *prokeimenon*, or respond, to the prophecies of the Old Testament; the Epistle with the apostolic witness. The *Alleluia* gives the attestation of David; and the Reading of the Gospel is the climax of the first cycle.

“In the second, the Lord is symbolized by the gifts of bread and wine. The Holy Table is the sepulcher of Christ; the corporal is the linen cloth enwrapping His body. The veil of the paten is the kerchief round His head. The larger veil, or *Aer*, which covers both paten and chalice, is the stone with which St. Joseph closed His Sepulchre. The Great Entrance is the Way of the Cross; the laying of the paten and chalice on the altar is the burial. The consecration corresponds to the Resurrection; and this symbolism is worked out fully through the Anaphora. In later days there was a still further development of this symbolism.” (W.H. Frere, *The Principles of Religious Ceremonial*, London, rev. ed., 1928, p. 54.)

To the modern mind much of this symbolism may seem unreal, but it was not so to the Eastern mind; and it provided a means of contact with the living Lord which for many was more real and went deeper than any mere words could have done, serving to open up vast reaches of devotion and rapture. Symbolism is meaningless only to the uninstructed or unimaginative mind. ...

(William D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship*, pp. 37-43.)

DOCUMENT 18

東方教會與西方教會的禮儀：彼此的歷史關係
KINDRED EASTERN AND WESTERN RITES

Eastern Rites:

- I. ANTIOCH.
 - 1. *The Apostolic Constitutions*, Books II and VIII.
 - 2. The Byzantine rite (Constantinople).
 - (a) Liturgy of St. Basil.
 - (b) Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.
 - 3. The Jerusalem rite.
 - (a) Liturgy of St. James.
 - (b) All other Syrian rites.
 - (c) The Persian rites (Nestorian).
- II. ALEXANDRIA.
 - 1. Sarapion.
 - 2. The Liturgy of St. Mark.
 - 3. All other Egyptian and Ethiopic rites.

Western Rites:

- III. ROME.
 - 1. The early Roman rite.
 - 2. The Gallican rites (all the non-Roman Western rites).
 - 3. The Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican rites.

(William D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship*, pp. 34-36.)

DOCUMENT 19

LITURGICAL FORMS IN THE WEST, 500-1570

The western rites, like those of the East, developed from the fluid rite of the Primitive Church, and the groundwork is the same. Both derived ultimately from the Synagogue and the Upper Room, and fell into two divisions, the Liturgy of the Word and Liturgy of the Faithful.

The main parts within this structure were also similar, but they developed on different lines. Notably there is the fact that, in the West, and particularly in the early Roman rite, brevity and sobriety of expression were distinguishing marks as opposed to the diffuseness and flamboyancy of the East; and while in the East the liturgy was fixed throughout the year, no part changing from Sunday to Sunday except the lections, and not necessarily these, in the West from earliest times there were many variable parts known by the general name of *propria* or “propers.”

These propers were: the introit, i.e. a psalm, or parts of psalms, sung antiphonally at the entrance of the clergy; the collect; the lections; the gradual, a psalm sung between the lections, so named because it was sung at the *gradus* or steps of the altar, sanctuary, or ambo; the secrets, collects said at the end of the offertory; the offertory psalm or anthem, commonly called the offertory; the proper preface, a short variable section of the preface of the consecration prayer, containing a special thanksgiving according to the season; the communion psalm, commonly called the communion; and the post-communions, collects said immediately before the dismissal. Other parts also varied on occasion, especially in the Gallican rites, but these are the principal propers of the Western rites.

The history of worship in the West may be divided more or less arbitrarily into three periods.

The first is from A.D. 500 to 500, when worship in the West was passing through the fluid stage to fixed forms. For three centuries Greek was the vernacular of Christendom, but by the fourth century it had been displaced by Latin as the liturgical language; and towards the end of the fourth century local Latin rites began to emerge as fixed forms. Information about Western worship is extremely fragmentary during this period, our main sources of knowledge being Justin Martyr’s account and the Hippolytan church order. By the sixth century, however, evidence of two main rites existing side by side begins to emerge, and documents appear which testify to the order and content of these rites.

The second period is roughly from A.D. 500 to 900. It begins with two Western parent-rites existing side by side: the Roman rite, at first only the local use of the city of Rome; and the Gallican rite, which spread over the rest of Europe and varied considerably according to local use. It ends with the ascendancy of the Roman rite.

During this period the two rites influenced each other continually until the ninth century, when, the Roman See having increased in power and authority, the Gallican rites were suppressed under Pepin and Charlemagne. With few exceptions, among which may be noted the rite of the Celtic Church, the Gallican rites dropped out of use, and even where they remained they were in highly Romanized versions. On the other hand, the Roman rite of the tenth century was not that of the fourth or fifth century, but one considerably altered by Gallican influence and containing much Gallican material.

The third period is from approximately A.D. 900 to 1520, the period of the ascendancy of the Roman rite. During this time the rite was not absolutely fixed, but varied considerably in different dioceses and provinces, while minor changes were continually taking place. Of these changes the variations in ceremonial and emphasis were more important than those in the text. The Canon (*Canon actionis*, the rule of the action), that part of the Consecration Prayer which follows the Preface, has remained practically unchanged since the sixth century, but the rite as a whole did not assume its present fixed form until 1570. The date 1520 marks approximately the appearance of the earliest Lutheran masses in Germany; these were, at the outset, translations and paraphrases of the Roman liturgy with, however, a change of doctrinal emphasis brought about by important modifications of the traditional ceremonial, and significant revisions and omissions in the text.

DOCUMENT 20

羅馬天主教的彌撒

The Roman Catholic Mass

話語的敬拜

進台經 (Introit)	唱詩
慈悲經 (Kyrie eleison, 九疊)	認罪的禱告
神父入場	
神父預備聖禮 (秘密)	
祈願	
詩 43, 《榮耀歸於天父》 (Gloria patri)	
詩 124:8	
認罪 (Confiteor) 與憐憫 (Misereatur)	
選自詩篇的短詩與應答的短歌	
祈禱文	
為聖壇上的香與焚香祝福	
榮耀經 (Gloria in excelsis Deo)	詩班讚美
問安與本主日的祈禱文	宣召
使徒書信, 由輔祭唱, 會眾應答	朗讀使徒書信
升階經 (Gradual, 唱詩篇)	唱詩篇
續唱曲 (Tract) 或續詠 (Sequence)	朗讀福音書
包括	
禱告與預備福音書	
問安、宣告福音書、並應答	
朗讀福音書 (輕聲讀), 並應答	
唱福音書 (點蠟燭和焚香, 由執事唱, 並應答)	
(神父走到聖壇)	
宣告	
講道前的禱告	牧師的禱告
讀使徒書信與福音書 (方言)	
講道 (方言)	
尼西亞信經	信經
請安與禱告	會眾的禱告

聖餐的敬拜

奉獻經 (Offertory): 主領聖餐的神父預備聖品	
備聖品	
會眾唱詩獻上餅, 並禱告	預備聖餐桌

調水與酒，並禱告	
獻上酒，並禱告	
禱告	
為香爐，焚香，聖壇與神父祝福	
主領的神父洗手，並唸詩 25: 6-12	
《榮耀歸於聖父》	
	(讀經完畢後再唱)
奉獻聖禮，並禱告	
禱告(秘密)	
問安和唱《抬頭仰望》(Sursum corda)	
為聖餐禮禱告	為餅和杯禱告
前言	
聖哉經(神父繼續禱告)	
懇求主接納奉獻	
為教會代禱	
記念存活者	
記念聖徒，並經由聖徒代禱	
第二次懇求主接納奉獻	
第三次懇求主接納奉獻	
聖餐開始，並唱祝福經	聖餐開始，「主耶穌杯賣的 那一夜，拿起餅來...」
記念主的受死與奉獻	
再一次懇求主接納奉獻	
記念過世者	
聖徒相通	
三一頌	三一頌
主禱文	
問安	彼此問安
羔羊經(Agnus Dei)	
神父們領聖體，並禱告	
信徒們領聖體	信徒們領餅與杯
唱聖餐的詩歌(詩篇)	
問安與領聖體後的禱告	
問安，散會	
為會眾祝福	
最後的福音書(約 1: 1-14)，並應答	

DOCUMENT 21

教會年

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR

In common experience certain days stand out from others; this is also true of Christian experience, and it explains how the Christian Year came to be formed. The process was a gradual one, extending over many centuries. It began with the observance of Easter, followed a little later by that of Pentecost or Whitsunday, fifty days after Easter. For long there was no general agreement upon the date of Easter, though the differences were small. The Eastern, Roman, and Gallican Churches had each its own method of arriving at the precise date, while there were also differences within some of these communions. General agreement was reached, however, by the seventh century; and thereafter Easter was computed to fall on the first Sunday after the Full Moon happening upon or next after March 21st.

The season of Lent early attached itself to Easter, as a time of preparation by confession, discipline or penance, fasting, and prayer. For a long period the precise span of Lent varied, but ultimately it came to be recognized as comprising the forty days preceding Easter, to symbolize the length of our Lord's fast in the wilderness before He began His life's work. In Jerusalem Palm Sunday began to be observed on the Sunday before Easter, and by the ninth century it was generally observed throughout Christendom. It was a natural step to celebrate our Lord's last days and Passion between these two Sundays, hence we have the origin of Holy Week.

Christianity is the Gospel of the Incarnation; it was inevitable that our Lord's birth should also have its special day, though this was fixed much later. In the East January 6th, the date of the Epiphany, was also the festival of the nativity. But in the West, about the fourth century, December 25th was fixed as the day of Christ's birth. Why this date was chosen is now difficult to determine. Duchesne regards the primary reason as being the belief then current that a perfect life must have perfect and unbroken years; and in the early Roman Church March 25th was held to be the date of our Lord's death. Thus, reckoning life as beginning from conception, December 25th would require to be the date of birth. It may have been related also to an attempt to Christianize the Roman *Saturnalia* (though the dates do not quite coincide); more likely, if outside influence played a part, it was chosen to displace the Mithraic feast (*Natalis invicti*) which celebrated the birth of the Sun, and fell on the winter solstice.

Christmas, like Easter, soon had its preceding period of preparation, which embraced both the future and the past. It was known as Advent, and was related both to the first and to the second Coming. It finally settled down to a fixed period of the four Sundays before Christmas.

With Christmas as the celebration of the birth and Easter of the resurrection of our Lord, it is not surprising that the intervening period should be largely occupied with

lesser days that celebrated the other events of our Lord's life: His presentation at the Temple, the visit of the Magi, His baptism and temptation, and so forth. After Easter, the events of His risen life were remembered, culminating in the Ascension. Thus we find roughly one-half of the year related primarily to the life and teaching of our Lord.

Ascensiontide was followed by Pentecost, to which, in England, Trinity Sunday succeeded. The period, roughly six months, between Pentecost and Advent came to be devoted to the building of the Christian life through the empowering work of the Holy Spirit.

Saints' days were observed on special days throughout the year, unrelated to, and often at variance with, the general scheme. Their origin is as early as the second century, the anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, instituted at Smyrna immediately after his death c. A.D. 155, being the most ancient known; and such anniversaries became general from the beginning of the third century. They were usually closely associated with the preservation of the saints' relics; and while in the earliest period, as we know from the writings of St. Cyprian, it was the martyr's 'birthday' (i.e. death day) that was kept, later it became customary to keep the day on which the saint's or martyr's relics were deposited in a church. Throughout the Church there was general agreement concerning the festivals of the Apostles and the greater saints; but regarding the lesser saints there were many local differences. During the Middle Ages the multiplication of saints' days reached preposterous extremes, and they were drastically reduced in number or entirely abolished at the time of the Reformation movement.

The worship of the Church was organized round these days. They gave colour and variety to the Offices, but chiefly to the eucharist with its many 'propers.' Kalendars and lectionaries have not all agreed in detail. ...

(William D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship*, pp. 170-173.)

DOCUMENT 22

教會行事曆

所有教會的聚會敬白，都可說是重演一齣神向人類自我啟示 (self-revelation) 的戲劇。在東正教的聖禮和羅馬天主教第彌撒，神是藉著話語崇拜中的讀經和信息，以及聖餐敬拜的儀式向信徒說話。從廣義來看，神在歷史中藉著教會行事曆活教會節令，向祂的子民說話。這種觀念來自猶太教，有些基督教節令和猶太教的相吻合，就是最好的說明。

洋曆的算法是非常有意思的。例如：本書出版於西元一九八一年，又稱主曆 (A.D.: anno Domini) 一九八一年。一般遵守傳統節令的教會，盼望藉著重演教會歷史發生過的事，幫助信徒體認寶貴的屬靈經歷，正如詩歌《我今行走耶穌所行之路》(I Walked Today Where Jesus Walked) 及《主捨命十架時你在哪裏？》(Were You There When They Crucified My Lord?) 所說的，每個基督徒都要時常思想，主耶穌如何道成肉身，向我們表明神的愛，因此我們要跟隨主耶穌的腳蹤行。在每一個主的年代，我們要行走耶穌所行之路，在崇拜中將祂的降生、一生、受難、釘死、復活和升天活現出來。盼望藉著主耶穌在世的教導及祂的服事，學習屬靈的功課，並活得更像我們的恩主。

東正教由於採用凱撒曆，而不是葛利果曆，復活節成為他們教會所有節令的中心。復活節前的七個星期是四旬節，是一連串的禁食、禱告、讀經和崇拜聚會的開始。四旬節的最高潮是受難周，接著便是復活節。復活節四十天後紀念基督的升天；五十天後為五旬節 (Pentecost)，紀念聖靈降臨及教會的誕生。東正教其他重要的節日有聖誕節（之前有四十天之久的慶祝活動），主顯節（一月六日），以及一些和耶穌或聖母馬利亞有關的節日。

天主教會的年代表分為兩大部分，前一部分是「基督的生平」，後一部分是「基督徒的生活」。教會年度開始的第一個節日是「待降節」(Advent，由聖誕節四個星期前的主日起)，是信徒安靜等候主耶穌降生的一段時刻，也是信徒再一次思想神的創造、神選民的歷史，以及先知如何預言耶穌道成肉身的故事。聖誕節定於十二月二十五日，和猶太人的燭光節 (Hanukkah)，以及外邦人慶祝冬至，寒冬已過等節日有關係。主顯節的 Epiphany 一字，是源自希臘字的「顯現」或「證明」；主顯節是紀念東方博士到伯利恆朝拜耶穌，以及主耶穌的受洗、行神蹟，和山上變像等事蹟，顯明基督是神所膏立的。四旬齋的開始是聖灰日 (Ash Wednesday)，是信徒懺悔認罪，預備心迎接聖周 (Holy Week)，並紀念主耶穌四十天在曠野受試探。聖周的第一天為棕樹主日 (Palm Sunday)，紀念耶穌基督在世的最後幾天，以及祂如何榮耀地進入耶路撒冷受難、釘死和埋葬。人們常稱復活節為「基督徒的逾越節」，因為復活節和逾越節的時間相同，並且象徵基督徒脫離罪惡和死亡的捆綁。五旬節 (Pentecost 一字，直接引用猶太人的節日「初熟的果子」

(First Fruits))，是紀念聖靈的降臨和教會的建立，也是教會行事曆第二部分的開始。五旬節強調的是神如何運用聖靈的能力，在這個恩典時代建立教會。

每一個教會節令都有其特殊崇拜儀式和顏色（例如：紫色代表懺悔，白色代表聖誕節，紅色是五旬節的顏色）。教會行事曆的每一段時間和每一個日子，都有特別挑選的經文、禱告文（天主教）、詩歌（特別是東正教），以配合每個節日所強調的屬靈意義。天主教的儀式中，有些是隨崇拜而更換，稱為「特別彌撒」(the Propers)；其他是在任何儀式中都不變的，稱為「一般彌撒」(the Ordinary)。

Donald Hustad, *Jubilate II*; 中譯：《當代聖樂與崇拜》，臺北：校園出版社，1998，頁 201-203。

DOCUMENT 23

柯梅奈（第九世紀），彌撒為聖劇：彌撒所象徵的

Amalor (9th Century), THE MASS AS DRAMA – WHAT IT SYMBOLIZES

「入祭禮」(introit) 是始禮的唱誦，遙指歷古以來眾先知的聲音（宣告彌賽亞將要降臨的訊息，就像詩班員誦唱，宣告主教進教堂）... 「垂憐頌」唱出基督降世時眾先知的呼求，先知撒迦利亞和施洗約翰也在這眾先知之列；「大榮耀頌」比喻天軍天使向牧羊人宣告主耶穌降生的大喜訊息（唱詠方式是獨唱者領唱，其他詩班員加入，在彌撒儀式中，此段由主教領唱，會眾加入應和）；接著是第一篇「集禱經」(the first collect) 提及主耶穌童年十二歲時的事蹟... 「書信經文」(Epistle) 喻表約翰傳講道理：「答唱詠」(*responsorium*) 表示使徒們聽聞主耶穌的呼召立刻回應跟從耶穌；接著唱「哈利路亞頌」衷心頌讚主，顯示使徒欣聞主耶穌的恩言和應許，也因著目睹主耶穌所行神蹟奇事而喜樂... 誦讀福音書是述說主耶穌的教訓... 彌撒其餘程序述說由主復活之日起（主日），門徒如何就近耶穌（包括信徒如何獻上禮物），以至主升天及聖靈於五旬節降臨。主祭的聖職人員背誦的經文，從「密詩文」(*secreta*) 以至「我們同樣犯罪」(*Nobis quoque peccatoribus*) 喻表主耶穌在橄欖山的禱告；接著的儀式代表基督被安放在墳墓中。當聖餐的餅蘸入酒中時，表示基督的靈魂回到身體內；其餘的儀式代表基督向使徒問安，而祭餅的擘開也代表主耶穌在以馬忤斯路上與兩個門徒談道後與他們擘餅。

The *introit* alludes to the choir of the Prophets (who announced the advent of Christ just as the singers announce the advent of the bishop) ... the *Kyrie eleison* alludes to the Prophets at the time of Christ's coming, Zachary and his son John among them; the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, points to the throng of angels who proclaimed to the shepherds the joyous tidings of our Lord's birth (and indeed in this manner, that first one spoke and the others joined in, just as in the Mass the bishop intones and the whole church joins in); the (first collect) refers to what our Lord did in his twelfth year ...; the Epistle alludes to the preaching of John, the *responsorium* to the readiness of the Apostles when our Lord called them and they followed Him; the Alleluia to their joy of heart when they heard His promises or saw the miracles He wrought The Gospel to His preaching. ... The rest of what happens in the Mass refers to the time from Sunday on, when the disciples drew close to Him (along with the multitude – making their gift-offerings), up to His Ascension or to Pentecost. The prayer which the priest says from the *secreta* to the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* signifies the prayer of Jesus on Mount Olivet. What occurs later signifies the time during which Christ lay in the grave. When the bread is immersed in the wine, this means the return of Christ's soul to His body. The next action signifies the greetings offered by Christ to His Apostles. And the breaking of the offerings signifies the breaking of bread performed by the Lord before the two at Emmaus.

Joseph A. Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, New York: Benziger, 1959, pp. 67-68, quoted in Robert E. Webber, *Worship Old and New*, Grand Rapids: Zonervan, 1982, pp. 68-69；中譯本：《崇拜：認古識今》，香港：宣道出版社，2000，頁 79-80。

DOCUMENT 24

宗教改革在敬拜禮儀方面的必須性

WHY THE REFORMATION WAS NEEDED FOR WORSHIP

十六世紀初期，西方教會舉行的聖餐儀式已成為一台戲，注意力並非集中於人與上帝親近，而是在於主餐的酒與餅變成耶穌的身體的神蹟，在舉揚「聖體」時信眾的膜拜，其中當然夾雜著迷信成分。彌撒經文以會眾不能明白的語文讀出，伴以華麗的儀式，倘若彌撒以唱誦方式進行，則伴以陣容鼎盛的音樂，會眾難以在儀式中有任何參與的機會。當時的教會沒有鼓勵信徒們彼此交往，每年最多只有一次聚會（中譯本有誤，應譯為：當時的教會沒有鼓勵信徒們領聖餐，每年最多只有一次領聖餐）。講道更是貧瘠堪憐，大多數教區的聖職人員都是文化程度甚低，不懂傳道，常以其他聖徒的生平事蹟和傳說取代聖經的教導。當時的聖經並不普及，更沒有以當地常用語言翻譯的聖經；付費進場的彌撒，加上贖罪卷的販賣，這都是以權謀私。在這種情形下，宗教改革實刻不容緩。

... At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Western Church had become a dramatic spectacle, culminating not in communion but in the miracle of transubstantiation, and marked by adoration, not unmixed with superstition, at the elevation. Said inaudibly in an unknown tongue, and surrounded with ornate ceremonial and, if a sung mass, with elaborate musical accompaniment, the rite presented only meager opportunity for popular participation. The people were not encouraged to communicate more often than once a year. The sermon had fallen into a grave decline, most parish priests being too illiterate to preach; and the place of the Scripture lections had been usurped on a great many days by passages from the lives and legends of the saints. The Scriptures were not fully accessible in the vernacular, and paid masses and indulgences were a source of simoniacal exploitation. Reformation was an urgent necessity.

(William A. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship*, London: Oxford University Press, 1939. p. 72. Quoted in Robert E. Webber, *Worship Old and New*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982, pp. 73-74. 中譯本：《崇拜：認古識今》，香港：宣道出版社，2000，頁 86。）

DOCUMENT 25

宗教改革者共同關注的事項

THE COMMON CONCERNS OF THE REFORMERS

第一 基督教人士（更正教）反對彌撒，原因是中世紀的教會認為每一次彌撒是基督再次捨身贖罪。馬丁路德在其著作「教會被擄到巴比倫」（The Babylonian Captivity）直指彌撒是「逆行」（損害真理的行徑）：

（彌撒）為患無窮，使聖餐之禮的真義蕩然無存，淪為市集、酒館的買賣，商品的交易場所；所以，教會出現各式各樣的買賣、會友資格、修士地位、代求說項、名譽褒獎、喜慶生辰、追悼記念，各種貨式，可供選購，討價還價，層出不窮，這些都成為神父、僧侶謀生之計。

First, Protestants rejected the Mass because of the medieval view of it as a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ. Luther, in “The Babylonian Captivity of the Church,” called the Mass an “abuse” that brought

an endless host of others in its train, so that the faith of this sacrament has become utterly extinct and the holy sacrament has been turned into a veritable fair, tavern, and place of merchandise. Hence participants, brotherhoods, intercessions, merits, anniversaries, memorial days, and the like wares are bought and sold, traded and bartered in the church, and from this priests and monks derive their living.

馬丁路德對羅馬天主教會採用的聖餐感恩禮評擊最烈，他指摘羅馬天主教會的彌撒已失去應有的**感恩**原意，變成一項邀寵儀式，為求討好上帝。馬丁路德認為這種意念違背聖經的教導，與福音真理對立…。再者，彌撒中「獻祭」的神學論調引發連串問題，使人期望從望彌撒的行動中獲得各種福分和好處，包括得醫治、使亡魂從煉獄中得釋放，以及其他神奇效應。彌撒甚至已失卻人與上帝契合的用意，因為會眾已不再須要親身參與彌撒，別人替代參加亦可；結果演變成主持彌撒的神父可代替信徒敬拜，彌撒也成為一種賺取救恩的認可合法途徑。這種想法和行為違反基督福音的核心真理，扭曲了以**恩典**作為基礎的基督信仰。彌撒是祭禮的錯誤觀念，必須廢除。這是所有基督教（更正教）信徒贊同的做法。

Luther’s most direct criticisms were aimed at the Roman prayers of the Eucharistic canon. The Mass, Luther charged, had lost its original focus as a *thanksgiving* and had become a propitiation to please God. For Luther, this notion was incompatible with the Scriptures. It stood against the gospel and had, therefore, to be excised from worship. Furthermore, the theology of sacrifice in the Mass created a host of other problems. People expected all sorts of benefits and advantages from hearing Mass, including healings, the release of souls from purgatory, and other magical results. The Mass had even lost the idea of communion, because people did not have to be present at the Mass – it could be said on their behalf. Consequently, the priest *saying* the Mass took the place of worship by the people and became a legalistic means of buying salvation. This view struck at the heart of the Christian message and perverted the essential nature of the Christian faith as a religion of *grace*. The overthrow of the Mass as a sacrifice was necessary. In this all the Protestants concurred.

其次，宗教改革者反對「變質說」，這理論的背後，蘊藏著羅馬文化裏「因功生效」(*opus operatum*)的概念，認為憑著實行彌撒的儀式，就能自動引發基督的臨在。由於存在這種思想，便認為奉行這種儀式的人，雖然沒有信心，也能納福，甚至彌撒所用的餅與酒未有分派予信眾領受，福氣也臨到。「變質說」試圖解釋基督如何親臨獻祭中，倡言聖餐所用的物質（餅與酒），變成基督的肉身和基督的血，獻予天父，作為救贖的祭物。「變質說」與「彌撒為祭禮」的論調唇齒相依，宗教改革者斷然反對，否定這兩項論調。

Second, the Reformers rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation. Underlying transubstantiation was the Roman notion of *opus operatum*, the belief that the mere performance of the Mass effected the presence of Christ automatically. In this view the performance of the rite imparted a blessing without the faith of the recipient, even without the elements of the Mass being distributed to the congregation. Transubstantiation explained the means by which Christ became present in the sacrifice. The *substance* of bread and wine changed into the body and blood of Christ and was offered to the Father as a sacrifice for salvation. The connection between the Mass as a sacrifice and transubstantiation naturally led the Reformers, who rejected the one, to reject the other as well.

第三 宗教改革人士堅持必須重視聖道禮儀，使其回復昔日應有的地位。中世紀的發展導致輕聖道禮儀，眾聖餐禮儀，兩者全不均衡。馬丁路德在一五二三年春季發行了一本小冊子，名位為《會眾崇拜程序備覽》(*Concerning the Ordering of Divine Worship in the Congregation*)，提供許多崇拜須知事項，並以下文為結語：

總而言之，凡事須以聖道的教導為重 ... 其他事物可省減，唯獨聖道的教導不可省略，沒有任何事物比聖道的益處更大。聖經經文從始至末，已說明我們必須讓聖道毫無攔阻地傳達於信徒之間。路加福音第十章記載基督如此說：「但是不可少的只有一件 ...」，馬利亞已經選擇了，就是每天在基督腳前坐著聽祂的道 ...

慈運理 (Zwingli) 的主張較馬丁路德更激進，認為信徒只應單單聆聽上帝的道。因此，慈運理堅持把任何足以轉移聖道的中央性的事物，都予以廢除，包括風琴、其他形式的音樂、聖職人員衣飾、畫像等物。

Next, the Reformers insisted on the restoration of the Word to its ancient and proper place in worship. The imbalance between Word and sacrament that led to the falling away of preaching and teaching the Word of God was regarded as a one-sided approach to worship. In the spring of 1523 Luther issued instructions in a pamphlet entitled *Concerning the Ordering of Divine Worship in the Congregation* in which he concluded with these words:

This is the sum of the matter: that everything shall be done so that the Word prevails ... We can spare everything except the Word. We profit by nothing so much as by the Word. For the whole Scripture shows that the Word should have free course among Christians. And in Luke 10, Christ himself says: "One thing is needful" – that Mary sit at the feet of Christ and daily hears his Word. ...

Zwingli went even farther than Luther in insisting that the people were to give ear to the Word of God *alone*. Consequently, he abolished organs as well as other music, vestments, pictures, and anything else that would detract from the centrality of the Word.

最後，宗教改革者就兩事項抱共同意見，認為（1）崇拜應以常用語言進行；及（2）崇拜應維持聖道和聖餐之禮兩部份的結構。慈運理是唯一反對崇拜回復至初期教會分聖道禮儀和聖餐禮儀兩部份的宗教改革者。他堅持單以聖道為崇拜的整體。這立場對加爾文派人士影響最深，以致加爾文派的信徒每年只舉行聖餐四次（每季舉行），而不是每主日守聖餐。加爾文 (John Calvin) 本人也感覺不當，但無法扭轉這主張。這種發展的影響從英國的清教徒延展至浸禮宗、長老會、公理會、獨立教會，以至美國大部份基督教會也以此為慣例。

Finally, the Reformers agreed on two other matters: (1) that worship should be in the vernacular and (2) that the twofold structure of Word and sacrament be maintained. Zwingli was the only Reformer who disagreed with the desire to return to the ancient structure of Word and sacrament. His emphasis was on the Word only. This position remained the most influential in the circles of Calvinism, and, to the distress of John Calvin, quarterly communion, rather than weekly communion, became standard in the churches most influenced by Calvinism. This influence extended through the English Puritans to the Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and independents and spread through them to most of American Protestant Christianity.

Robert E. Webber, *Worship Old and New*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982, pp. 74-76 ;
中譯：《崇拜：認古識今》，香港：宣道出版社，2000，頁 86-89.

DOCUMENT 26

宗教改革者對崇拜事宜的分歧意見

THE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE REFORMERS

宗教改革者雖然對某些事項意見一致，可是，對崇拜事項的立場，卻出現明顯的分歧。分歧的主要原因在於是否維持羅馬天主教的傳統。信義宗和英國聖公會的傳統儀式保留著許多初期教會的崇拜傳統。慈運理的追隨者和重洗派則斷然與舊有的崇拜儀式脫離，改革宗的教會則採取中間路線。

In spite of unity on the above matters, distinct differences regarding worship existed among the Reformers. The fundamental disagreement occurred over continuity with the Roman Catholic heritage. The Lutheran and Anglican traditions retained much of ancient worship; the Zwinglian and Anabaptists made a radical break with the past; and the Reformed church maintained a middle position.

舉例而言，信義宗「奧斯堡信條」(Augsburg Confession)如此說：有人指摘我們的教會廢除「彌撒」禮儀，這種指摘沒有根據。事實上，我們的教會保留彌撒，並且以最敬虔的信崇拜，*幾乎把全部禮儀都保存下來...* 教會是按聖經和教父們的教導支持舉行彌撒 [重點為引者所加]。

For example, the Lutheran Augsburg Confession states:

Our churches are falsely accused of abolishing the mass. Actually, the mass is retained among us and is celebrated with the greatest reverence. *Almost all the customary ceremonies are also retained* [emphasis added]... The mass among us is supported by the example of the church as seen from the scriptures and the fathers.

英國聖公會保留很多舊有的傳統，雖然脫離了羅馬天主教會，英皇亨利八世時代的教會仍一成不變保留整個彌撒儀式，直至愛德華六世在位時，基督教（更正教）的道理才對彌撒的舉行產生影響。這種影響可見於克藍麥 (Thomas Cranmer) 大主教的《聖餐禮儀》(*Order of the Communion*) 之內，其內容包括宣布廢除彌撒一詞的使用、廢除聖衣禮服等物，並把祭壇改為聖餐桌，崇拜程序亦予改革，取消「入祭禮」的程序，取消宣讀福音書時唱誦「大榮耀頌」的儀式，取消為死者祈禱的儀式。然而，這些改革只能實行非常短的時期，因為，不久以後，信奉羅馬天主教的瑪利亞皇后登位，中止這些改革。瑪麗皇后在位不久去世，由伊利沙伯一世接位，她執政期甚長，在她統治英國期間，一五五九年修訂的《公禱書》(*Book of Common Prayer*) 成為法律規定必須採用的公禱書。這本《公禱書》和《禮儀手冊》(*Of Ceremonies*) 再次訂定英國聖公會維持舊有禮儀的意向，提出修改禮儀之處甚少。

The Anglicans also retained much of the past. After the break with Rome the Mass remained essentially the same throughout the reign of Henry VIII. Not until the reign of Edward VI were strong Protestant notions asserted in the Mass. There were contained in Cranmer's *Order of the Communion* and included such things as the deletion

of the word *mass*, the abolishing of vestments and the replacement of altars by communion tables. Other changes were made in the order of worship including the deletion of the *introit*, the *Glory be to thee, O Lord* at the Gospel reading, and the prayers for the dead. These changes, however, were short lived because of the accession of the Roman Catholic Mary to the throne. Her short reign was followed by the lengthy reign of Elizabeth, under whom the *Book of Common Prayer* as revised in 1559 was established by law. In the *Book of Common Prayer* and in the tract entitled *Of Ceremonies* the Anglican church reaffirmed continuity with the ancient rite with few changes.

慈運理和重洗派信徒採取的路線較激進徹底。慈運理反對一切儀式，認為是外邦人思想，並且著手剔除教會內固守傳統的風氣，廢除崇拜禮儀中許多規條，不論這些禮儀規條是否可能對教會有益處。他相信真正的信仰來自聖靈的工作，不憑物質或其他外在途徑。

A more drastic approach was taken by Zwingli and the Anabaptists. Zwingli repudiated all ceremonies as pagan and commenced to rid the church of traditions and many worship rubrics regardless of their possible value to the church. He was convinced that faith came through the Holy Spirit alone apart from physical channels or external means.

重洗派信徒不單反對崇拜儀式，更認為沒有需要舉行具任何形式的集體崇拜聚會。他們相信真正的教會是一群順服、受苦的信徒，每日與上帝同行，才是最為重要。信徒聚集，彼此同心禱告、讀經、教導勸勉、同守主餐，這種聚會可以在家中舉行，毋須任何隆重形式，這才是與上帝同行的最佳樣式。因此，這些信徒不願意參加國教轄下的教會，而是私底下舉行聚會，時間不定，形式不拘，視情況而行。信徒彼此交往密切，通常是以口頭通知，傳遞聚會時間、地點等訊息。

The Anabaptists not only rejected ceremonies in worship, but also the necessity of formal public worship. It was their conviction that the true church was an obedient and suffering people whose daily walk with God was of utmost importance. This walk climaxed in the gathering of Christians together for prayer, Bible reading, admonition, and the Lord's Supper in the informal atmosphere of the home. They thus refused to attend the worship of the state church and met in secret at various times in an unscheduled and impromptu manner. The time and place of other scheduled meetings were communicated by word of mouth to those who belonged to the closely knit community.

改革宗教會採取中間路線訂定崇拜方針。加爾文以宗教改革家馬丁·布瑟 (Martin Bucer) 的著作《史特拉斯堡敬拜禮儀》(*The Strasbourg Liturgy*) 為藍本，該書揉合慈運理的論點與信義宗的教義寫成。馬丁·布瑟仍未活躍於史特拉斯堡之前，當地的教會仍保留各種禮儀傳統，包括聖衣禮服、舉揚聖體、主祭洗手禮儀、跪拜禮儀，但已除去崇拜乃一次祭禮的教義。馬丁·布瑟把崇拜簡化至最基本形式，取消會眾與領唱者啟應的短句，崇拜裏交互輪唱的特徵逐漸消失。「大榮耀頌」及「垂憐頌」等頌辭改由以有韻律的聖詩歌詞和詩篇取代。「獻心頌」及序禱如「聖哉頌」及「撒迦利亞頌」也消失，以感謝基督救贖大恩的禱告代之。經課規

定也更改，由主持崇拜的聖職人員選讀經文，講道時間延長至一小時。總括而言，以歷史事物和傳統為依歸的崇拜形式已窮途末路，不講求華麗堂皇的崇拜方式，接而興起，趨於理性主義的方針已影響著崇拜。

The Reformed community forged out a mediating approach to worship. Calvin's major source was the work of Martin Bucer of Strasbourg, who combined a Zwinglian emphasis with Lutheranism and developed *The Strasbourg Liturgy*. Before Bucer the worship at Strasbourg retained ceremonial aspects such as vestments, elevation, washing of the celebrant's hands, and genuflection but omitted all indications of a doctrine of sacrifice. Bucer reduced the worship to its most simple forms. Most of the versicles and responses disappeared with the resulting loss of the antiphonal character of worship. Proses such as the *Gloria in excelsis* and the *Kyries* were replaced by metrical psalms and hymns. Even the *Sursum corda* and the prefaces such as the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus* disappeared, being substituted by a general prayer of thanksgiving for Christ's work. The lections also disappeared, allowing the minister to "pick his text," and sermons became an hour in length. In general, it may be said that an impoverishment of the historic substance of worship was replaced by forms less aesthetic and graceful. A more rational approach to worship had set in.

一五三八年至一五四一年間，加爾文抵達史特拉斯堡，牧養一小群從法國逃至該地的信徒。在這期間，加爾文主張的崇拜方式開始成形。其實加爾文提倡的崇拜方式深受馬丁·布瑟及其《史特拉斯堡敬拜禮儀》影響。加爾文以初期教會的集體崇拜方式為基準，並認為史特拉斯堡教會採用的儀式最能體現這標準。加爾文寫了一本書，名為《依照初期教會行事方式舉行聖禮及禱告》(*The Form of Prayers and Manner of Ministering the Sacraments According to the Use of the Ancient Church*)。加爾文對《史特拉斯堡敬拜禮儀》作若干輕微修訂，主要在那些可以改動的部份，如認罪文、主禱文、十誡和唱誦詩篇的形式等部分，實質上沒有更改馬丁·布瑟揉合信義宗和慈運理主張而訂定的崇拜程序。加爾文的崇拜禮儀（亦即馬丁·布瑟的綜合版本）成為改革宗的主導方針。

Calvin came to Strasbourg and ministered to a small group of French exiles between 1538 and 1541. It was here in this context that his views on worship, influenced by Bucer and the *Strasbourg Liturgy*, began to take shape. His standard was the corporate worship of the early church, which he thought was best represented in the rites of Strasbourg. His writing on worship, *The Form of Prayers and Manner of Ministering the Sacraments According to the Use of the Ancient Church*, shows where his sympathies lie. Calvin made some changes in the *Strasbourg Liturgy* in the variants, the confession, the Lord's Prayer, the reading of the Decalogue, and the singing of the psalms. But none of this changed the essential character of Bucer's synthesis between the Lutheran and Zwinglian approach to worship. Calvin's liturgy, following Bucer's synthesis, became the major approach to worship in the Reformed churches.

我們更要注意加爾文的心意，他嚮往初期教會的崇拜，希望得貫徹一致，既保持崇拜的早期結構，又藉著**聖道禮儀和聖餐禮儀**，宣揚基督如何受死、復活並且再臨。現今大部分改革宗的教會採納慈運理的教導，每年只守聖餐四次，其實絕非加爾文所願。其中原因追溯至當時的教會領袖 (magistrates)。這些教會領袖因受

慈運理的教導影響，不准許加爾文每主日舉行聖餐儀式。加爾文曾於一五五五年致函伯爾尼 (Berne) 地區的教會領袖，談及此事，內容如下：

還有一事，雖然前已提出，但仍請你費神考慮。目前而言，我們每年四次舉行主餐，而貴區則每年三次。主若許可，大人可考慮讓我們（甚至你本人亦然）亦守主餐，使主餐之禮常常舉行，因為聖路加再使徒行傳的記載裏已給我們明證，最初成形的教會經常擘餅守聖餐，次數較我們目前頻密，初期教會一直如此實行，其中經歷不少年代，亦復如是；直至撒但設立彌撒，實在可憎可恨，以致人們每年只舉行聖餐一兩次。在這方面，我們必須承認自己虧欠，未能好好跟隨使徒之模範。

One further matter should be noted about Calvin. It was his intent, in keeping with his appreciation of the worship of the early church, to maintain the ancient structure of worship proclaiming Christ's death, resurrection, and return in *both Word and sacrament*. The fact that most Reformed churches today follow the Zwinglian practice of quarterly communion is no fault of Calvin. The magistrates who were influenced by Zwingli in this matter did not allow Calvin to celebrate Holy Communion weekly as he wished. This attitude is seen in a letter Calvin wrote to the magistrates of Berne in 1555:

There is another matter, though not a new one [to which I would call your attention], namely, that we celebrate the Lord's Supper four times a year, and you three times. Please God, gentlemen, that both you and we may be able to establish a more frequent usage. For it is evident from St. Luke in the Book of Acts that communion was much more frequently celebrated in the primitive Church; and that continued for a long time in the ancient Church, until this abomination of the mass was set up by Satan, who so caused it that people received communion only once or twice a year. Wherefore, we must acknowledge that it is a defect in us that we do not follow the example of the Apostles.

Robert E. Webber, *Worship Old and New*, pp. 76-79; 中譯：《崇拜：認古識今》，頁 89-92。

DOCUMENT 27

MARTIN LUTHER AND LUTHERAN LITURGIES

LUTHER: CONSERVATIVE AND RADICAL IN LITURGY

In Luther there is much that is sharply contradictory. He was the most conservative of all the Reformers in his theory of worship, yet in actual practice he made some drastic and far-reaching changes; at other times he could scarcely be persuaded to make any changes, and his theory far outstripped his practice; while in some particulars his theory and practice remained in permanent disagreement. But too much emphasis need not be laid upon this, since it is an experience common to all reformers.

LORD'S SUPPER AS FELLOWSHIP WITH CHRIST, NOT SPECTACLE; INTELLIGIBLE; DIDACTIC ELEMENTS NEEDED; CELEBRATED WEEKLY

Central to Luther's conception of the Lord's Supper was the fellowship of Christians in and with the living Lord. This idea is prominent in the New Testament, particularly in the early chapters of the Book of Acts, but it had been largely lost in the teaching of the medieval Church. It fell to Luther to rediscover it, and in his early writings especially he gave it a conspicuous place. This recovery alone changed the whole aspect of worship. No longer could it remain merely a spectacle splendidly enacted as it were upon a stage; it must become a common action in which all shared. But if all were to share in it, the worship must be intelligible, and to be wholly intelligible it must contain didactic elements. This end, Luther held, could be achieved only by retaining the celebration of the Lord's Supper as the central service of the Church. Thus in 1520 he declared that the Lord's Supper ought 'to be celebrated daily throughout Christendom'; but three years later he modified this view when in another sermon he stated that in future the eucharist would be celebrated only on Sundays, unless there were those who wished to communicate more frequently. The result was that a weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper, with sermon and communion, became the early Lutheran tradition.

REAL PRESENCE OF CHRIST: CONSUBSTANTIATION

Luther's idea of fellowship involved belief in the Real Presence, and his interpretation was conservative rather than creative. His doctrine of consubstantiation did not differ greatly from the medieval doctrine of transubstantiation, save that he insisted that the Real Presence could be completely realized only when the worshipper received communion.

MASS NOT A SACRIFICE OF CHRIST; RATHER WE OFFER OURSELVES

Luther, however, sharply attacked the medieval view of the sacrifice of the mass, which taught that the mass was a repetition of the sacrificial death of Christ. But he did not make the mistake of discarding altogether the idea of sacrifice. He transformed it, giving it a truer interpretation. In the eucharist, he declared, we do not offer Christ; He was offered once for all on Calvary. But we enter into His sacrifice, 'offer ourselves up together with Christ; that is, we cast ourselves upon Christ with sure faith in His covenant'. We offer ourselves, our souls and bodies, in fellowship with Him; and we offer a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving as we identify ourselves with Him. In this sense, the Lord's Supper is a sacrifice; but it is not a veritable re-enactment of our Lord's sacrificial death.

CHANGES TO MASS NOT HASTY

While Luther's criticism of the mass was often violently polemical, he was reluctant to make any hasty changes in its text and ceremonial, though he encouraged the people to receive communion at every celebration and insisted that the Words of Institution be said audibly. A vernacular mass was a logical inference from his idea of fellowship, and in 1520 he went so far as to declare himself openly in favour of this change. But he was slow to make it. Some of his more impulsive followers anticipated him, and several German masses appeared before his. These are too numerous to describe in detail, but the general trend of the movement may be indicated.

1520: LUTHER URGED VERNACULAR MASS, ATTACKED SUBSTANTIATION AND MASS AS SACRIFICE

As first both Luther and his followers were content to prepare private prayers to be said silently by the people while the celebrant said mass in Latin at the altar. But in 1520 his *Babylonish Captivity* appeared. In this aggressive work, he urged the need for a mass in the vernacular, repudiated the doctrine of transubstantiation, attacked the doctrine of the mass as a sacrifice, and declared the Last Supper to be the norm of all masses. This spurred his followers to action.

CARLSTADT'S VERNACULAR EUCHARIST: WITTENBERG, CHRISTMAS 1521

Carlstadt made the first experiment at Wittenberg on Christmas Day 1521. He celebrated in the vernacular without Eucharistic vestments, omitted the Canon except the Words of Institution, and gave communion in both kinds. During Luther's absence from Wittenberg this use was established and followed for a short time. But on his return, impatient of these changes, he insisted upon reversion to the old ways.

OLDEST EXTANT GERMAN MASS: KANTZ, 1522

The oldest German mass that has come down to us belongs to the year 1522; it was compiled for the Carmelite monks at Noerdingen by their prior, Kaspar Kantz.

It was said in German throughout, but only the second part, the liturgy of the faithful remains. It was designed, apparently, to be celebrated as a low mass, music to fit the German words being not yet available. The offertory psalm therefore disappears, and a brief exhortation relevant to communion, concluding with a general absolution, takes the place of the offertory prayers. The *Orate fratres* becomes a bidding to prayer for the celebrant alone, and a collect for him follows. He then repeats, in accordance with an old custom in that province, the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. The Prayer of Consecration consists of Preface, *Sanctus*, *Benedictus qui venit*, a paraphrase of *Quam oblationem*, and the Words of Institution. The Lord's Prayer and the *Agnus Dei* follow. The collect, *Domine Jesu Christe Fili Dei vivi*, from the celebrant's private preparation, is cast into the plural as a prayer of preparation for all. The other private prayers disappear, an almost inevitable result when the whole rite is now said audibly. After communion the *Nunc dimittis* or *Te Deum* is said, followed by a paraphrase of the post-communion collect, *Placeat tibi*.

1523: NUMEROUS GERMAN MASSES; FALL 1523: LUTHER'S *FORMULA MISSAE*

During the next year other German masses compiled on similar lines appeared throughout Germany, and many attempts were made to prepare a Canon that would accord with Lutheran opinions. Luther disagreed with much of this activity, and it compelled him to take the lead himself in liturgical reform. In the autumn of 1523 he published his *Formula missae*. In the introduction he states that the time is ripe for the creation of new forms, and a return to primitive simplicity. This is to be attained by cleansing the old service of the human inventions and accretions that have perverted it out of all recognition. The Canon he describes as incoherent patchwork and an abomination; and he condemns the medieval ceremonial and over-elaborate music. But after all this protestant thunder, what he presents as a substitute is merely a truncated version of the Roman mass, retaining the Latin language, most of the ceremonial, lights, incense, and vestments.

In the Liturgy of the Word, lights and incense at the Gospel are made optional, the *Confiteor* is discarded, and the only sequences retained are those for Christmas and Pentecost

The Liturgy of the Faithful is more ruthlessly treated. All that remains of the Offertory is the preparation of the elements, which may take place during the Creed. He allows the mixed cup, but prefers pure wine because of his notion that it was so used at the Last Supper. The *Sursum corda* and Prefaces remain, but his treatment of the Canon is negative, illogical, and subversive. [Note: this author is obviously committed to the traditional forms of the early and medieval church.] By an indefensible innovation he

attaches the Words of Institution to the Preface, then adds the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus qui venit*; these latter are sung by the choir, and during the *Benedictus qui venit* the elevation takes place. The remainder of the Canon is omitted, so the rite contains neither intercessions nor a consecration prayer. After the elevation, the Lord's Prayer is said, with protocol but without the embolism; and the *Pax* is given. During communion, which follows, the Agnus Dei and communion psalm are sung as formerly. The post-Communion follows, but the dismissal is omitted, and the Aaronic Blessing (num. vi. 24-6) may be substituted, if so desired, for the *Benedicat vos*. The whole service was to be said audibly.

In the second part of his work he states that mass is not to be said if there are no communicants, that communicants must show a proper knowledge of the faith, and when they wish to communicate they are to inform the celebrant in advance. Private confession before communion is not to be compulsory, but Luther considers it as of high practical value and to be encouraged; communion is to be in both kinds; before communion there is to be private preparation, not confined merely to the formal fast. He also urges the need for new spiritual songs in the vernacular.

FORMULA MISSAE = NORM; GERMAN MASS

Unconstructive and negative as the *Formula missae* is, it became the norm of the best and most comprehensive of the later Lutheran liturgies, many of which, including the important liturgies of Strasbourg, far surpass Luther's own work.

Those based upon his *Deutsche Messe* were slighter in structure and content. Nevertheless, its appearance in the autumn of 1526 acted as a brake upon his more extreme followers. Luther did not publish his *Deutsche Messe* until he himself had used it for a year at Wittenberg; this enabled him to present it, with a musical accompaniment, as the embodiment of his considered opinion.

The introduction, if somewhat contradictory, is illuminating. He admits his reluctance to provide a German mass, and urges that the Latin mass should still be said on certain days. He retains vestments, lights, and altars 'for the time'; but states that the altar should be moved out from the east wall so that the celebrant might take his place behind it in the basilican posture, facing the people 'as without doubt Christ did at the Last Supper.' Strangely enough, however, in practice he seems to have clung to the eastward position.

As before, his work is negative, the only positive contribution being the new German hymns. In the Liturgy of the Word, all the private and incidental prayers of the celebrant disappear, a development, as we have pointed out, which was more or less inevitable if the mass was to be said audibly. The old introits were translated into German, but German hymns are permitted as alternatives. The *Kyries* (still in Greek) are to be threefold instead of ninefold, and the *Gloria in excelsis* is deleted. The gradual and

Alleluia are replaced by German hymns that the people could sing. The Apostles' Creed in German metre is substituted for the Nicene Creed.

He deals drastically with the Liturgy of the Faithful, sadly mutilating it beyond what the Lutheran teaching required, and providing a most inadequate vehicle of devotion. The Offertory has disappeared, and the preparation of the elements takes place while the Creed is being sung. In place of the old offertory there is a short paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, followed by a short exhortation. These are both derived from the old German Prone, but they are now said at the altar, not from the pulpit as formerly. The whole of the Canon except the Words of Institution is abolished; and the rite contains no prayer of consecration, thanksgiving, or intercession. The elevation is retained, and consecration is effected by reading the Words of Institution over the elements; and Luther initiates and encourages the unfortunate departure, although he does not insist upon it, of consecrating and distributing each element separately. During communion, while the communicants go forward, the *Sanctus* is sung in German (Luther's *Jesaia dem Propheten*), or the *Agnus Dei*, likewise in German, or a German metrical hymn. After communion Luther's collect, *Wir danken dir almechtiger Herr Gott*, is said, and the service concludes with the Aaronic Blessing. The whole service is to be said in German, and examples are given of how the Epistle and Gospel may be sung.

THE GERMAN MASS

A glance at the scheme of Luther's *Deutsche Messe* given below shows how extreme Luther's revision was, particularly in the second part of the rite.

Liturgy of the Word

Introit of German hymn
Kyrie eleison
 Salutation and collect
 Epistle
 German hymn
 Gospel
 Apostles' Creed (Elements prepared now)
 Sermon or homily

Liturgy of the Upper Room

Paraphrase of Lord's Prayer
 Exhortation
 Recitation of Words of Institution, accompanied by Fraction and Delivery
 Communion, hymns sung meanwhile
 Post-communion collect
 Aaronic Blessing

LUTHER'S FORM DEFECTIVE; BUT WORSHIP INTELLIGIBLE

As a form, Luther's German mass was defective in many parts. But he broadened and deepened the spirit of worship and gave the people a more intelligible part. They now knew at least what was being done, and could join in the common action; and communion was restored to its rightful place. The impetus given by Luther to the hymnody of the Church was to produce lasting and glorious benefits.

Not all of Luther's followers were so negative or extreme as he was in the preparation of new forms of worship, and some of the Lutheran liturgies are richer in content than those of Luther himself. Absolute liturgical uniformity was never a Lutheran ideal, and the rites in the various cities and provinces varied considerably, though all belonged unmistakably to the same family.

Outside Germany Lutheranism was more creative liturgically. The Swedish, Norwegian, and American Lutheran rites are evidence of this. In Germany recently there have been liturgical movements of great interest, but in the present unsettlement between Church and State it is difficult to know what their future may be.

DOCUMENT 28

路德教派的崇拜儀式

彌撒儀式
(Formula missae, 1523)

進台經（唱整首詩篇）
 慈悲經（唱希臘文）
 榮耀經
 祈禱文
 使徒書信
 升階經和哈利路亞
 福音書信
 信經（尼西亞）
 講道

預備聖餐用品
 問安；唱振起你心
 前言
 設立聖餐
 聖哉經和祝福經
 主禱文
 平安（認罪）
 領聖餐（唱羔羊經和聖餐詩歌）
 祈禱文
 祝禱

德文彌撒
(Deutscher messe, 1526)

進台經（唱有韻詩歌篇或聖詩）
 慈悲經（仍舊唱希臘文）

祈禱文
 使徒書信
 升階詩歌（押韻）
 福音書信
 信經（詩歌形式）
 講道

領聖餐前的告誡

設立聖餐

領聖餐（唱聖詩，也唱聖哉經和羔羊經）
 祈禱文
 祝禱

Donald Hustad, *Jubilate II*; 中譯：《當代聖樂與崇拜》，臺北：校園出版社，1998，頁 222-223。

DOCUMENT 29

THE ZWINGLIAN RITES

MORE THAN JUST MEMORIALISM; ZWINGLI'S EARLY TRAINING: HUMANISM, NOT SCHOLASTICISM

Zwingli's doctrine of the Lord's Supper is not to be simply branded as memorialism and so dismissed; it was more complex than that, and there is much with which to agree in Dr. Barclay's statement that 'in their essential teaching on the Holy Supper, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were as one'. The striking difference between Zwingli and his two fellow Reformers lay in early training and consequent approach to theological doctrine. Calvin and Luther were scholastics, while Zwingli was a humanist. Consequently, Zwingli was more rationalistic in his theological outlook, less mystical, and more subjective and analytical; while his idea of God is characterized by an extreme transcendentalism difficult to reconcile with the necessary complement of immanence.

RATIONAL TEACHING; REAL PRESENCE OBSCURED; LORD'S SUPPER NOT MEANS OF GRACE

This had two effects upon his proposed forms of worship. His prayers tended to be precise theological definitions of belief rather than simple direct petitions and praise; they were didactic rather than devotional. While he speaks repeatedly of receiving Christ in the eucharist, his exposition of how this is achieved is unreal, an inevitable defect if the exposition attempts to be purely rationalistic. A further effect was to obscure the idea of fellowship in the eucharist, for such fellowship ultimately depends upon the Real Presence.

One essentially fundamental difference between Zwingli and the other Reformers did, however, exist. Zwingli did not regard the Lord's Supper in itself as a means of grace, or as the norm of Christian worship. In theory and practice, therefore, he did not favour frequent communion. This difference from Luther and Calvin was decisive.

AN ATTACK UPON THE CANON OF THE MASS, 1523

De canone missae epicheiresis, Zwingli's first revision of the mass, appeared in 1523. As the title, *An Attack upon the Canon of the Mass*, indicates, his first assault was against the Canon, which he cannot consent to use because of its incoherence, contradictions, sacrificial ideas, and general inadequacy as a consecration prayer. At first, 'for the sake of the weaker brethren' he had thought of retaining it with a few modifications; but when he came to revise it, the incoherence of its content and the barbarity of its style defeated him. He therefore had to prepare a substitute, and, unlike Luther, he did not shirk the task. His pamphlet indicates what he proposes as a reformed

rite, and it is written in graceful and classical Latin as befits the pen of a humanist. Here is a digest of its contents:

Most of the Liturgy of the Word is retained, but the lectionary is simplified, and the collects, lections, and sequences related to saints' days deleted. The musical settings are ruthlessly simplified. The lections and sermon are to be in the vernacular, but the remainder of the service in Latin.

In the Liturgy of the Faithful the offertory and *Sursum corda* are deleted, and the preparation of the elements takes place, no doubt, during the singing of the Nicene Creed. The Preface and *Sanctus* are retained; but for the Canon are substituted four prayers, which, taken together, are about the same length as the original Canon, or slightly shorter.

The first prayer is a thanksgiving for creation, providence, and redemption; it concludes with the Lord's Prayer.

The second prayer is highly definitive and didactic. In essence, it is a prayer that the faithful may be fed with the true Bread of Heaven, which is the Word, 'the bread that giveth life to the world'; there is also a slight reference to the Passion; and a petition that the Spirit may quicken those who partake at this Table.

If there is an anamnesis, it is found in the third prayer. It begins with the affirmation that 'taught by Thy Word, we steadfastly believe, O Lord, that heaven and earth shall pass away rather than Thy Word', which moves into a confession of faith in our Lord's sacrifice upon the cross whereby He reconciled us to the Father, and in the validity of His sacrament wherein 'He offered himself to be the food of our souls under the forms of bread and wine, that the memory of His gracious deed might never be abolished'. Then follows a petition that our faith may be so increased as we eat our Lord's flesh and drink His blood, that we may be enabled to overcome the world. At the conclusion the note of fellowship is struck, in the petition that as many as shall partake in the nourishment of the Lord's Body and Blood may manifest and express one spirit, and be one in Him who is one with the Father.

The fourth prayer is one of humble access. It opens with a petition that when we cry, 'O Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us', God will graciously forgive our sins. It concludes with prayer for worthy communion at the banquet of our Lord, who Himself is both host and sumptuous feast.

The Words of Institution, which follow, are from I Cor. xi. 23-6, in their Scriptural form, and with one verse more in the Roman rite. Our Lord's invitation is added: 'Come unto Me all ye that labour, &c.'. Communion follows, after which *Nunc dimittis* is sung; and a brief post-communion prayer concludes the service.

APRIL 1525: NORM OF ZWINGLIAN WORSHIP

This digest shows how different from Luther's was Zwingli's approach to revision of the old worship. His radicalism was more unrestrainedly expressed two years later, when in April 1525, he published the first German rite to appear in Zurich. It was entitled *Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals*, and became the norm of all later Zwinglian worship.

He prefaces his rite by a letter to the faithful and a foreword. In the latter he says that, while error has long reigned, God in His mercy has now disclosed the true way, and as the Israelitish kings Hezekiah and Josiah purified the Passover so that it had been rightly observed since their time, so by the help of God the Lord's Supper is now to be celebrated according to its proper use. In Zurich, ceremonies and ritual are reduced to their barest form; only sufficient is retained for the remembrance of Christ's death in a spiritual way. But Zwingli does not venture to prescribe rules for other Churches; these are for each Church to determine for itself. The letter concludes with the statement that in Zurich it is held that the Church has the right to exclude from communion those who live in open sin, who thereby defile the Body of Christ.

THE FOREWORD

The foreword is really a comprehensive rubric, giving certain directions for the service. Those who intend to communicate are to take their places in the choir, and the bread and wine is to be carried to them by deacons. The communicants are to remain in their places and receive sitting, each taking a small piece of bread in his hand off the large wooden plate that now does service as a paten; the wine is given in a large wooden cup. At reception all say, Amen. Unleavened bread is used. Communion is to be celebrated only four times in the year: at Easter (on which day several successive celebrations are permitted), Whitsun, autumn, and Christmas.

Two points of importance emerge from the foreword. First, we have here the origin of sitting communion; and secondly, although Zwingli encouraged more frequent communion for the people than the medieval Church had done, he confines it to four times a year. In both these matters he stood alone among the continental Reformers in theory; though both Calvinists and Lutherans later came to adopt infrequent communion in practice. This, however, was in direct opposition to the teaching of both Luther and Calvin.

ZWINGLI'S LITURGY: STRUCTURE

The structure of Zwingli's German rite was as follows:

Liturgy of the Word

Ordinary Morning Service (a form of matins), concluding with Sermon and a Confession of sins

Offertory: preparation of elements

Invocation: 'In the Name of the Father, &c.'

Collect

Epistle

Gloria in excelsis (said antiphonally)

Gospel

Apostles' Creed

Liturgy of the Upper Room

Exhortation

Fencing of the table

The Lord's Prayer

Prayer of humble access

Words of Institution, with:

Fraction

Ministers' communion

Delivery, and communion of the people

Post-communion psalm (said antiphonally)

Post-communion collect

Dismissal

THE SERVICE/RITE

The service was carried out in this manner:

The ordinary Sunday Morning Service, probably a much simplified form of Mattins, though in content more like the Prone, consisting mainly of reading, preaching, and a long prayer, preceded the eucharist. This first service was concluded by a confession of sins following the sermon, and the Holy Table was then made ready and the elements prepared for communion. Thereafter the celebrant and two assisting deacons, corresponding to the deacon and subdeacon at high mass, took their places at the Holy Table in the basilican posture. The whole service was said in a clearly audible voice in the vernacular.

The service proper began, as did the celebrant's part in the mass, with the Invocation, to which the assisting ministers replied, Amen, 'for the people.' A collect followed, to the intent that the service might be in accordance with our Lord's command to show forth His death, with a right and true faith; the people kneeling for prayer, and saying, Amen. Then one of the ministers read the Epistle, which like the Gospel was fixed. It consisted of the Words of Institution and subsequent verses (I Cor. x. 20-9); at its conclusion ministers and people said the old response in the vernacular, 'Praise be to

God'. Then the celebrant said the opening clause of the *Gloria in excelsis*, and the men and women, who sat on opposite sides of the choir, took it up antiphonally. The senior deacon, standing at the north end of the Holy Table, then read the Gospel. He greeted the people with the familiar salutation, 'The Lord be with you', and they responded, 'And with thy spirit'; he then announced the passage, John vi. 47-63, the people responding, 'Praise be to God'. After the reading, he kissed the Gospel Book, and said, 'Praise and thanks be to God, who according to His Holy Word willeth to forgive us all our sins', the people responding, Amen. The Epistle and Gospel remained fixed until 1846; then the only change was to reduce the number of verses in the Gospel by five. After the Gospel the Apostles' Creed was recited in the same manner as the *Gloria in excelsis*.

The Liturgy of the Faithful began with a brief exhortation said by the celebrant, concluding with a fencing of the Table which forbade any to approach fraudulently. He then bade the people kneel, while he recited the Lord's Prayer (as in the old rite, without the Matthean doxology, which was not inserted in the Zurich rite until the next century), to which the people responded, Amen. The celebrant continued in a brief prayer of humble access, recapitulating God's mercy and loving-kindness in the gift of His only-begotten Son, for the fellowship and redemption that come through Him, confessing our unworthiness of so great a redemption, and beseeching forgiveness; the prayer ended on a note of self-oblation and was concluded with the traditional doxology to the Holy Trinity. The people responded, Amen, and having risen from their knees, sat while the celebrant consecrated, using the Words of Institution, during the repetition of which he performed the manual acts and communicated himself and the deacons. He then delivered the consecrated elements, one of the deacons bearing the bread and the other the wine to the people in their seats. The people might either be communicated by the deacons or else taken the paten and cup into their own hands. After communion, Ps. cxiii, 'Praise ye the Lord; praise O ye servants ...', was said in the same manner as the *Gloria in excelsis*. The *Gloria patri* was not said after the psalm. The service ended with the thanksgiving: 'We give Thee thanks, O Lord, for all Thy gifts and goodness; who livest and reignest, God for ever', the people responding, Amen. The celebrant then dismissed them with the words, 'Go in peace'.

SINGING ABOLISHED; THEN RESTORED

Music had been abolished from the Zwinglian rite in 1525, and the antiphonal recitation of the psalms and canticles substituted; it is doubtful, however, if this innovation ever proved successful, and there is evidence in the later editions that the actual recitation of the psalms and canticles was carried out by the two deacons 'for the people'. Zurich was the only centre of the Reformation movement where singing was abolished; elsewhere the more reasonable course was taken of substituting congregational singing for the elaborate music rendered in the old rite by choirs. Before the end of the sixteenth century, Zurich had abandoned the extreme view that led to the exclusion of music from worship, and introduced congregational song.

It is interesting to observe in this rite the survival of the two assisting ministers, their functions practically unchanged. They did not long remain in the other Churches of the Reformation, although the word 'deacon', in the old sense, was still used in some of them. In England deacons were retained as an order of the Holy Ministry.

Though Zwingli retained many of the parts of the old rite, the actual content of his worship is bare. There is no prayer of consecration, and no prayer of intercession. While both Luther and Zwingli stressed fellowship as an essential aspect of the Lord's Supper, their rites strangely failed to give expression to it. In neither rite is there a sense of communion with the whole Church on earth and in heaven; and in Zwingli's rite, after the antiphonal recitation of the psalms had broken down, there was no point where there was a common action. In content, the Zwinglian rite must be regarded as the least adequate of all the Reformation liturgies.

Its most tragic influence, however, was the beginning of the separation of the Lord's Supper from the Lord's Day, making it no longer the norm of Sunday worship, but a memorial feast infrequently celebrated.

DOCUMENT 30

THE GERMAN RITES OF STRASBOURG: EARLY REFORMED MASS OF DIEBOLD SCHWARZ

LUTHER INFLUENTIAL IN STRABOURG BEFORE BUCER (1530);
BUCER BROUGHT ZWINGLIAN INFLUENCE

In Strasbourg, until Bucer became the superintendent in 1530, Lutheran influence was dominant, though from the beginning the Reformers there acted independently of him. Bucer, however, brought Zwinglian influence to bear upon the Strasbourgian Reformers, especially on the humanist side, so that Strasbourg became the *via media* between Luther and Zwingli. Thus there sprang up in that city a family of rites of great importance to the study of the worship of the Reformed Churches.

STRASBOURG WORSHIP EVOLVES, 1525-1539:
VIA MEDIA BETWEEN LUTHER AND ZWINGLI

Elsewhere I have traced in detail and step by step the evolution of the Sunday morning worship at Strasbourg between the years 1525 and 1939. Here, therefore, it is necessary only to indicate the development in broad outline; but, by way of illustration, I shall include the two most important texts in translation, since these are not available in English.

1524: 1st REVISED MASS BY SCHWARZ:
MASS AUDIBLE

The first revision of the mass in Strasbourg was carried out by Diebold Schwarz (Theobaldus Niger); and, on February 16th, 1524, he celebrated in German for the first time in St. John's Chapel in the church of St. Laurence.

Schwarz's mass was much less radical yet essentially more creative than any revision Luther had either suggested or achieved. The new spirit was amply expressed, but the best in the old form was preserved. It was a translation into simple German of the old service, and as many as possible of the old familiar things were retained: the *asperges*, vestments, elevation, washing of the celebrant's hands, genuflexions, and most of the ceremonial. But all that pertained to the Roman doctrine of sacrifice was ruthlessly expunged. This was accomplished by slight omissions here and there, the paraphrasing of familiar words, and a creative, as opposed to a negative, treatment of the whole rite. The whole rite was said in a clearly audible voice, and all invocations of the saints and the Virgin were excluded. The private prayers of the celebrant were, most of them, omitted; and, since music was not yet available for the German words, the parts ordinarily sung had either to be said or omitted. The *Confiteor* was modified slightly,

and said aloud as a general confession of sins, though the first person singular was still retained.

Of all these changes, the most important and far reaching was the saying of the rite audibly; for this meant that, although the traditional ceremonial remained, the people were no longer dependent upon it for following the service. That, at one stroke, relegated the ceremonial to a subordinate place; and what before had been of primary importance now became a mere enrichment of the rite.

SCHWARZ'S RITE

The following is Schwarz's rite in outline:

Liturgy of the Word

Preparation at the altar steps:

Invocation: 'In the Name, &c.'

Confession of sins, the local *Confiteor* revised

Absolution: I Tim. i. 15

Scripture Sent. (Ps. Cxxiv. 8: 'Our help, &c.') from celebrant's private preparation in old rite, said as he goes to altar

Salutation and response

Introit, said not sung

Kyries

Gloria in excelsis

Salutation and collect

Epistle

Gospel

Nicene Creed, said

Liturgy of the Upper Room

Offertory:

Preparation of elements

Exhortation

Salutation and proper preface

Sanctus and *Benedictus qui venit*

Lavado and related collect

Canon (said standing, with upraised hands):

Intercessions

Prayer for quickened life

Words of Institution, with elevation

Anamnesis

Lord's Prayer, with Matthean doxology

Pax

Agnus Dei

Communion collect, *Domine Jesu Christe fili Dei vivi*
Celebrant's communion
Delivery, and People's communion (in both kinds, if desired)
Two post-communion collects
Salutation and response
Blessing, *Benedicat vos*

The Latin names are retained in the above outline in order to indicate how closely Schwarz's rite followed the old. The actual text of Schwarz's rite is embedded in the translated text on pp. 91-7 below, and if this scheme above is compared with that text, Schwarz's can be easily distinguished from what has been added or altered.

DOCUMENT 31

GERMAN RITES AT STRASBOURG: THE LITURGY UNDER MARTIN BUCER'S INFLUENCE

STRASBOURG TREATS CANON CONSTRUCTIVELY

The Strasbourgers were constructive in their treatment of the Canon, as we see also by the translated text [on pp. 95-6] below. The text there differs only in the slightest degree from Schwarz's. By retaining the thanksgiving, intercessions, and anamnesis, they retained the essential content of a consecration prayer. Consecration was effected by the inclusion of the Words of Institution in the prayer, and no epiclesis was added. That may be regarded as a defect, but it was typical of contemporary Western use.

1524-25: NINE EDITIONS

During the years 1524-5 nine or ten printed editions of the German mass appeared at Strasbourg, each differing slightly from the others, but all closely related in form and substance. The text printed below is the seventh in this series, but it represents the third step in the revisions of Strasbourg. The service book in which it is contained is entitled *Teutsch Kirche ampt mit lobsgengen vn goetlichen psalmen wie es die gemein zu Straszburg singt vn halt mit mer gantz Christliche gebette dan vorgetruckt*.

SCHWARZ'S INFLUENCE

By this time Bucer's influence was making itself felt, but not so strongly as was the case after 1530. The reforms had, however, been carried further than by Schwarz, and the principal differences may be briefly summarized. A choice begins to appear in the prayers; the Apostles' Creed is given as an alternative to the Nicene; the Aaronic Blessing may be said instead of the Roman Blessing; psalms and hymns in German metre appear, providing the people with opportunity to participate in the service; such phrases as, 'Lord's Supper', 'Minister', 'Holy Table' are beginning to replace 'Mass', 'Priest', 'Altar', though there is a good deal of interchanging for some time; the Latin titles for the parts of the service are gradually replaced by German titles; the Epistles and Gospels are no longer selected according to the old lectionaries, but are read in course and are of greater length; sermons are regularly preached, sometimes one on each lection; the ceremonial is much simplified, and the elevation discarded; and the worship is now conducted from behind the Holy Table, which has been moved forward to provide room for the celebrant. All this does not appear from the texts themselves, but there are contemporary accounts which describe the worship; these will follow the texts.

SCHWARZ'S RITE (7th EDITION)

**THE ORDER OF THE MASS, AS THE CHURCH AT STRASBOURG
NOW CELEBRATES IT** (pp. 91-97)

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Kneeling – Make your confession to God the Lord, for He is good, and His mercy is everlasting. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and Thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.

And I, poor sinner, confess before God the Almighty, that I have sinned grievously through the transgression of His Law; that I have done much that I should not have done, and have left undone much that I should have done, through unbelief and distrust towards God; and that I am lacking in love towards my fellow-ministers and towards my neighbours. God knoweth how great is my guilt, and I repent. O God, be gracious unto me, a poor sinner; and be merciful, for my sins are many. Ame.

This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief. Lord, I believe; help Thou my unbelief, and grant me salvation. Amen.

Then, going to the altar, and facing the people, the Priest says:
God be gracious and merciful unto us all. *Amen.*

Another Confession of Sins [to be use din place of the above.]

Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call ye upon Him while He is near. Give unto God the glory, and confess your iniquity, and say;

Almighty God, everlasting and merciful Father, behold, in iniquity were we shapen, and in sin did our mother conceive us. To Thee we confess and acknowledge all our sins and transgressions. We have not believed Thy Word; and we have gone aside from Thy way; our whole life is vain transgression. In Thy mercy and goodness remember, O Lord, these who are here gathered from the world; remember not the sins of our youth nor our transgressions; but in Thy mercy remember us yet for Thy goodness' sake and for Thy Name's sake. O Lord forgive our sins, for they are very great, and be merciful unto us.

Now let us be comforted and be glad, and hear the good tidings of the Gospel:

Brethren, if any man hath sinned, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and He is a propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. Believe the Gospel (*or* these words), and live in peace. *Amen.*

The Introit or the beginning of the Mass

I cried with my whole heart: hear me, O God, I will keep Thy commandments and Thy statutes. I cried unto Thee: save me, and I shall keep Thy testimonies (Ps. cxix. 145-6). Hear my voice according unto Thy loving-kindness: O God, quicken me according to Thy judgment (Ps. cxix. 149). Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. *Amen.*

The Kyrieleison

Kyrieleison; Lord have mercy. Christeleison; Christ, have mercy. Kyrieleison; Lord, have mercy upon us.

The Gloria in excelsis deo

Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will. We praise Thee, we bless Thee, &c. [In the text a German translation of the whole canticle is given.]

The Priest, facing the people, says:
The Lord be with you.

The Collect or Congregational Prayer (gebet der gemein) follows:

Let us pray.
Ever merciful, eternal God and Father, who willest to lead us by a right and true faith to Thine only-begotten Son: Grant now to Thy people that they may never cleave to any created thing, but only seek and find an entrance into Thy favour; through Christ Jesus our Lord. *Amen.*

Or, in place of this, some other Collect proper to the time, or a prayer as the Spirit of God doth prompt.

Now, facing the people, a Minister reads the Epistle, which is chosen by the Priest.
Gal. iii. 3-14. [In the text a German version is given.]

The Alleluia

Alleluia, praise the Lord. O Lord, deal with Thy servant according to Thy mercy, and teach me Thy statutes. I am Thy servant; give me understanding, that I may know Thy testimonies (Ps. cxix. 124-5).

The Gospel (Euangelium) follows:

John vi. 41-58. [In the text a German version is given.]

It is to be noted here, however, that sometimes instead of the Gospel (Euangelium) (and the same applies to the Epistle), one of the Gospels (Evangelisten) may be chosen for itself and each Sunday a part of a chapter expounded to the people in such a way that the context is kept; and the passage chosen is not to be such a small and imperfect fragment as it has been the custom to have in the popish Church.

Afterwards, the Creed follows:

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, &c. [In the text a German version of the Apostles' Creed is given.]

[Or] sometimes the Great Creed, which is called the Symbolum Nicaenum is sung:

I believe in one God, &c. [In the text a German version of the Nicene Creed is given.]

Here the Priest prepares the chalice with bread and wine; after which he turns to the people and says this Exhortation:

Dearly beloved, pray God the Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that He will send us the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, to make our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is our reasonable service. May this happen to us all. *Amen.*
The Lord be with you.

The Preface of the Lord's Supper:

Lift up your hearts.

Give thanks unto the Lord our God.

It is indeed our duty, and is just, right, and salutary, that we should always in all places give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, holy, Almighty Father, eternal God, who hast procured our redemption by the Word of the Cross, so that the life of those from whom death has been banished might spring up, and that the enemy might be controverted; for, if through the wood disobedience had overcome us all in Adam, so now by the Wood obedience is achieved again, through Jesus Christ our Lord; through whose majesty and glory the angels and all the heavenly hosts praise Thee with exultant honour and praise, for evermore; and in the same, be willing, we beseech Thee, to unite our thanksgiving, as with humble confession we say:

The Sanctus

Sanctus, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts; Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory; O God Most High, save us.

The Benedictus

Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord; O save us, God Most High.

The Canon follows:

Almighty and ever merciful Father, forasmuch as Thy Son, our Lord Jesus, hath promised that what we ask in His Name thou wilt grant unto us, and forasmuch also as Thy Spirit hath commanded us to pray for those in authority over us; we beseech Thee

from our hearts that Thou wouldst move the hearts of the Emperor, the Princes and the Nobility, and especially of our Lords and Magistrates of the Council, to the knowledge of Thy goodness and of the Gospel; also that Thou wouldst subdue all peoples to Thy Son through the Holy Ghost, in order that they may willingly comprehend, receive, and guard His promises; and especially do we pray for this congregation that Thou wouldst grant them to increase in the knowledge of the Gospel and of its sweet yoke and comfortable burden. And forasmuch as, Almighty and eternal God, beloved and ever gracious Father, Thine only Son, our Lord Jesus, hath come into the world to heal the sick and not the sound, and to heal our blindness which dulls the shame of sin since it is not able to see or recognize even itself as sickness, for alas, we are infected, and in our wandering and transgression we please ourselves, hate the commandments, and love vice: write Thy law, we beseech Thee, in our hearts through God the Holy Ghost; quicken the hidden sin within us; and thus grant us to prove and experience how impossible it is for us to do any good thing of ourselves, so that we may hunger and thirst for grace and righteousness which alone truly proceed from Thee, and which Thou hast given to the world through Thy well-beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ;

The Consecration. The beginning of the Mass proper and of the Lord's Supper:

Who, on the day before His passion, took the bread into His holy hands, and gave thanks to Thee, O God, His heavenly Father; brake it; and gave it to His disciples, and said: Take ye and eat, this is My Body which is given for you.

Ad calicem:

In like manner, after supper, He took the cup into His holy hands, and gave thanks, and said: Take and drink ye all of it; this is the chalice of My Blood, the New and Eternal Testament, which was shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins. And as oft as ye do this, saith the Lord, do it in memory of Me, and show forth the Lord's death, till He come.

After which the Priest says:

How great is Thy goodness, that Thou hast merited for us and for all ours not only the forgiveness of our sins, but by Thy grace hast given Thy Son Jesus Christ unto death for a propitiation. Wherefore, we now have a great and unassailable safeguard in Thy grace, and know that we are Thy children, Thine heirs, and joint-heirs with Christ; and that we may freely pray, as Thine only-begotten Son hath taught us, and say:

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c. [In the text a German version is given in the Matthean form with the doxology.]

Turning to the people, he says:

The peace of the Lord be with you always.

The Agnus Dei

O Lord Jesus Christ, Thou Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. O Lord Jesus Christ, Thou Lamb of God, who remittest the sins of the world, grant us peace.

Let us pray. [Entitled 'The *Communicatio*' in the text of 1525.]

O Lord Jesu Christ, Thou Son of the living God, Thou eternal Word of the Father, Thou Saviour of the world, Thou true, living God and Man, Thou who according to the will of the Father and with the aid of the Holy Ghost didst through Thy death bring the world to life: By Thy bitter pains and death, deliver us, we beseech Thee, from all our unrighteousness and sins; and grant that we may always be obedient to Thy commandments, and never be cut off from Thee eternally. *Amen.*

Here it is the custom to have a short and earnest Exhortation for those who wish to come to the Sacrament; this Exhortation is usually based upon the Epistle and Gospel.

Then he [the Celebrant] takes the Host in his hand, and says; Our Lord Jesus Christ said to His beloved disciples: Take ye and eat; this is My Body which is given for you. And similarly also with the Cup, as it is described in the Gospels and in Paul. Then the Priest may himself partake of the Sacrament, though he is also permitted to have done so first, before he delivered it to the people. Then they kneel, and say the Nunc Dimittis: O Lord, lettest now Thy servant depart in peace, &c. [In the text a German version is given in full, without the Gloria Patri.]

Or,

Let the congregation now sing the Anthem.

The Communion Hymn (Commun), or the Congregational Thanksgiving, follows: Gott sey gelobet, &c. [This is a hymn of Luther's, and it is given in full in the text.]

Then the Priest, facing the people, says:

The Lord be with you.

Let us pray.

O Lord Jesu Christ, who hast given Thy body unto death for us, and hast shed Thy blood for us and for many: Ordain us not unto damnation nor unto judgement, but according to Thy goodness may Thy Body and Blood be unto both our souls and bodies for a protection and medicine unto eternal life. *Amen.*

O Lord God, we beseech Thee also from our hearts to grant unto us, that what we have received with our lips we may receive also with a pure mind, that it may be unto us at this time a medicine unto eternal life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Facing the people, he says:

The Lord be with you.

Give thanks unto the Lord, and praise ye Him.

And then he says:

The Lord bless you and keep you; may He make His face to shine upon you, and be merciful unto you, and give you His peace. The blessing of God, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, be with us, and remain with us always. *Amen.*

CONTEMPORARY COMMENTARY (FRENCH STUDENT)

We may add to this text by way of commentary a contemporary account of this worship from a young French student's letter to his friend and patron, the Bishop of Meaux, written in December 1525.

The writer first states that nothing is said or sung which is not intelligible to all and founded upon the Scriptures, and that the Scriptures themselves are expounded clearly and simply, without resort to allegory. He then proceeds to describe the Sunday worship:

'On the Lord's day, which is the only day they keep as a festival, ... they celebrate the Lord's Supper in this manner: The Table is set well forward, in a place in full view of the church, so that it may be seen by all. They do not call it an altar, in order that they may not be thought to be in any way like those who make a sacrifice out of Christ's Supper, but the Table does not differ in any way from ordinary altars. To this Table the minister comes, but in such a manner that he faces the people and does not turn his back upon them. ... Standing at the Table, with his face towards the people, and while the eyes of all the people are upon him, he says first certain brief prayers ..., and then psalms are sung by all. When this has been done and the minister has prayed again, he goes up to the pulpit and reads the Scripture which he wishes to expound, in such a way that it may be understood by all... The sermon finished, he returns to the Table, and the Creed is sung by all. After this, he explains to the people why Christ left us His Supper, ... the relates the words of Christ as they are written by the Evangelists or Paul. Thereupon, he gives bread and wine to those who wish to come forward (for no one is compelled, but all are bidden), true symbols of the body and blood of Christ, sealed in His death and left by Him to His apostles. While they are communicating and each one receives his portion of the Supper, *Kyrie eleison* is sung by all, that by this hymn they may render thanks for the benefit received. And communion is so ordered that the minister may partake last, in order that he may consume all that remains. When this is finished, each one returns to his home.

We see from this account and from the texts themselves how the worship has become again a corporate action in which the two characteristics of the early worship as recorded in Acts, fellowship and joy, are predominant. Contemporary evidence of this fact is not lacking, as, for example, this letter shows:

'No one remembers to have seen the benches of our churches filled by a people so zealous, resourceful, and eager for instruction. Before the minister has gone into the pulpit, one sees innumerable crowds discussing the Word of God, or listening to the reading of the passage that is to be expounded. The buzzing of the crowd as it arrives is such that one would have said a bishop was to be consecrated.'

William A. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship*, pp. 90-98.

DOCUMENT 32

THE GERMAN RITES AT STRASBOURG: FURTHER CHANGES UNDER BUCER'S INFLUENCE

AFTER 1530: BUCER'S WORK; LOSS OF SIMPLICITY AND DIRECTNESS

Further changes in the services took place during the succeeding years as Bucer's influence became paramount. Some of these are to be welcomed, others to be deplored. Greater variety was introduced into the choice of the prayers: by 1537 there was a choice of three confessions of sin, three prayers of consecration, four post-communions, while other prayers were left to be framed by the celebrant. This accorded with the use of the Primitive Church, and variety may serve many useful purposes. It was unfortunate, however, that each prayer, as it was added, should be lengthier, more prolix and more didactic than its predecessor, and so influenced by the current theology that it lacked the timelessness and universality that should, generally speaking, characterize Christian prayer. This gain in variety, while it need not have done so, actually did in very case involve a loss of simplicity and directness. Many of the later prayers of the Reformed Churches were marred through failure to arrest this tendency. One cause of this fault was the laudable desire to make the worship completely intelligible to the worshippers and fully expressive of their needs; but the result was too often an undue focusing of attention upon the needs of man so that worship tended to lose its proper objectivity and direction.

Most of the versicles and responses disappeared, and the worship lost its antiphonal character. The proses also were gradually replaced by psalms and hymns in metre; these latter, together with the music to which they were set, proved to be an enduring enrichment of common worship; but we must regret the extremism that abolished all responses save the *Amens*, and which failed to use the prose psalms and canticles in worship. It would have been easy to simplify the traditional music without destroying its unique character.

Thus the *Gloria in excelsis* and the *Kyries* were supplanted by metrical psalms and hymns. It is to be deplored that words so fitting and so rooted in the worship of the Church as the *Sursum corda* should disappear from use. And to substitute for the Prefaces, the *Sanctus*, and the *Benedictus qui venit* a general thanksgiving for Christ's work and passion was a genuine impoverishment and an unnecessary departure from a tradition almost as old as the Church itself; for however excellently conceived such a substitute might be, it lacked the dignity and beauty, the variety and comprehensiveness and devotional grace of the historic forms; and in the end it achieved no more than a slight revision of them could have accomplished.

During this time also the lections disappeared, with the exception of those from the Gospels, which were now read in course. This gain was a needless impoverishment. The preparation of a revised lectionary would have sufficed to remedy such abuses as had

been common. And important as the sermon is in worship, to make it an hour in length was surely an excess of zeal.

All saints' days were abolished without discrimination, and only the chief festivals of the Christian Year were kept. Eucharistic vestments dropped out of use, and by 1537 the black gown and cassock alone were retained; these had previously been normally used for preaching and outdoor wear.

The exhortation, originally a brief revision of *Orate fratres*, was now extended to several paragraphs; and it was to become lengthier still in the Calvinian and Anglican rites. During this period also the practice of weekly communion declined; so that by 1537 communion was celebrated weekly only in the cathedral, and monthly in the parish churches and chapels-of-ease. But the eucharist still remained the norm, and if there was no communion, those parts were omitted which belonged directly to consecration and communion.

BUCER DESCRIBES WORSHIP AT STRASBOURG, 1526-39

Bucer's own description of the worship at Strasbourg between 1526 and 1539 indicates the direction taken by the successive revisions:

'When the congregation come together on Sunday, the minister exhorts the people to confess their sins and to pray for pardon; and on behalf of the whole congregation he makes confession to God, prays for pardon, and pronounces absolution to the believers. Thereupon, the whole congregation sing a few short psalms or hymns. Then the minister says a short prayer, reads to the congregation a passage from the writings of the Apostles, and, as briefly as possible, expounds the same. Then the congregation sing again, this time the Ten Commandments, or something else. After that, the minister reads the Gospel, and preaches the sermon proper. The sermon ended, the congregation sing the Articles of our Belief [i.e., the Apostles' Creed in metre]; and the minister says a prayer for the Magistrates and for all men, and specially for the congregation there present, beseeching an increase of faith, love, and grace to hold in reverence the memory of Christ's death. Then he admonishes those who wish to observe the Lord's Supper with him that they are to do so in memory of Christ, to die to their sins, and bear their cross willingly, and be strengthened in faith for what must come to pass when we contemplate with believing hearts what measureless grace and goodness Christ hath shown to us, in that for us He offered up to His Father His life and blood upon the Cross. After this exhortation, he reads the Gospel concerning the Lord's Supper, as the three Evangelists and Paul in I Corinthians xi have described it. Then the minister distributes the Bread and the Cup of the Lord among them, having partaken of them also himself. The congregation then sing again a hymn of praise; and afterwards the minister closes the Supper with a short prayer, blesses the people, and lets them go in the peace of the Lord. This is the manner and custom with which we now celebrate the Lord's Supper on Sundays only.'

This description represents the rite before the revision of 1537, when further changes were made. The rite of 1537-9 appears in the service book entitled *Psalter mit aller Kirchenuebung*. This rite is chiefly important because from it are derived the Calvinian and Scottish rites and services; therefore the whole rite, with its many and prolix alternative prayers, is not reprinted here, but only the parts that later came to have a place in those rites.

CONCERNING THE LORD'S SUPPER OR THE MASS AND THE SERMONS

[Standing before the Sunday Service is a long rubric treating of the daily services. These are three in number, and are held approximately at 4 a.m., 8 a.m., and 5 p.m. in Summer and at 5 a.m., 8 a.m., and 3 p.m. in Winter. Normally they consist of a confession of sins, Scripture lection and sermon, a 'seemly space ... for special private prayer', a collect or brief free prayer and the grace. The rubric also states that, because of the gross misuse of the holy days, Sunday only is to be kept as a festival for the whole day, and it is to be hallowed as the weekly rest to the service of God. The great festivals of the Christian year – Christmas, Passion Week, Ascensiontide, Whitsun, and others – are to be observed in the sermons, but there is no provision for such an observance of the Saints' days. The 'memorial days of our Lord' are to have the central place. Generally speaking, there is to be no withdrawal from work on holy days falling on days other than Sunday, but Christmas, 'and a few other days also,' are exceptions to this rule.

The rubric then proceeds:]

On Sundays, the following services are held: first, early Morning Prayer in the Cathedral, as on other days. Then at six o'clock approximately, the Curates have a Sermon and Exhortation for domestic servants in the parish churches. Soon thereafter, when the congregation is assembled, the Pastor (Pfarrer) enters, and goes to the Holy Table (Altartisch) taking up such a position that he faces the people, and in order that every one may hear every word he stands upright, and begins the Common Worship, using approximately the following words; for he is able to lengthen or shorten them as opportunity or time affords:

The Confiteor

Make confession to God the Lord, and let each one acknowledge with me his sins and iniquity:

Almighty God, eternal Father, we acknowledge and confess unto Thee, that we were conceived in unrighteousness, and in all our life are full of sin and transgression, in that we have not gladly believed Thy Word nor followed Thy holy commandments. For Thy goodness' sake and for Thy name's sake, be gracious unto us, we beseech Thee, and forgive us our iniquity, which is very great.

Another Confiteor

Almighty God and eternal Father, we confess and acknowledge that we, alas, were conceived and born in sin, and are therefore inclined to all evil and slow to all good; that we continually transgress Thy holy commandments, and more and more corrupt ourselves. But we repent us of the same, and beseech Thy grace and help. Wherefore, most merciful and most gracious God and Father, show Thy mercy upon us, through Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ. Grant to us and increase in us Thy Holy Spirit, that we, acknowledging from the bottom of our hearts our sin and unrighteousness, may come to be repentant and sorry for it, die to it wholly and please Thee entirely by a new life blessed of God. *Amen.*

Another

[This third *Confiteor* we shall not reprint here. It is probably from Bucer's pen, and is based upon the Ten Commandments, each Commandment supplying a paragraph of confession, and it is much longer than the two Confessions translated above. In all likelihood this Confession played a part in influencing Calvin to use the Decalogue at the first singing in his service. Later the compilers of the *Book of Common Prayer* followed Calvin's use of the Decalogue in combination with the *Kyries*, but added 'upon us' and 'incline our hearts', &c.]

An Absolution or Comfortable Word: I Tim. i

This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus is come into the world to save sinners.

Let each make confession in his heart with St. Paul in truth ['that I am the chief' in some editions], and believe in Christ. So in His name do I pronounce forgiveness unto you of all your sins, and I declare you to be loosed of them in earth so that ye may be loosed of them also in heaven and in all eternity. *Amen.*

Sometimes he takes other Words which comfort us in the forgiveness of sins and in the ransom of Christ for our sins, such as St. John iii. 16, or iii. 35-6, or Acts x. 43, or I John ii. 1-2. [In the text these verses are given in full.]

Thereafter, the Church begins to sing a Psalm or hymn instead of the Introit; and sometimes the Kyrieleyson and the Gloria in excelsis follow.

When this has been done, the Minister (Diener) says a short prayer for grace and for a right spirit, in order that the Word of God and the Sermon which are to follow may be heard with fruitful effect. The content of this prayer is based upon those desires which a Christian ought to have, and is usually drawn from the Sermon which follows it. I will now take one of the sort to which I refer, which I have formerly allowed to be issued.

The Lord be with you.
Let us pray.

Almighty, ever gracious Father, forasmuch as all our salvation depends upon our having truly understood Thy holy Word: therefore grant us that our hearts be set free from worldly things, so that we may with all diligence and faith hear and apprehend Thy holy Word, that thereby we may rightly understand Thy gracious will, and in all sincerely live according to the same, to Thy praise and glory; through our Lord Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Then the Church sings a Psalm or some verse, and the Minister (Diener) goes to the front of the chancel, and reads from one of the Gospels (Evangelisten), reading it in order, and selecting as much as he is minded to expound in a Sermon. And, forasmuch as the Gospels quite clearly depict the words and works of our Lord, it is the custom on Sunday Mornings generally to preach from hem rather than from the other books: and this in their order, and not as formerly to select some small parts, often not specially suitable, inasmuch as all the rest of the Gospels is kept back from the congregation. In the afternoon, and at the other hours of worship, the other books of the Bible are also explained.

At the end of the Sermon the action of the Lord's Supper is explained, and the people are exhorted to take part with a right faith and true devotion. This said Exhortation usually contains four points.

The first: that, forasmuch as we wish here to share the Body and Blood of our Lord, we are to reflect upon the fact that our body and blood, that is, our whole nature, is wholly corrupted to evil and thus to eternal death, so that they of themselves could never share in the kingdom of God. I Cor. xv.

The second: that it is to deliver us from such corruption that the eternal Word of God became flesh, so that there might be a holy flesh and blood, that is, that He should be a really divine man, through whom our flesh and blood would be restored and sanctified. And this happens, as we eat and drink of His Body and Blood truly.

The third: that the Lord truly delivers and gives to us His holy and sanctifying Body and Blood in the holy supper under visible things, bread and wine, through the service of the Church, as His holy Word declares: 'Take ye and eat, this is My Body which is given for you; drink ye all of it, this is My Blood, which is shed for you for the forgiveness of sins' and this word of the Lord we must accept with simple faith, and not doubt that He, the Lord Himself, is within us through the external service of the Church, which He Himself hath ordained. This also He hath shown us in His Word, that as the bread which we break is to us truly the Communion of His Body, so the cup which we bless is also to us the Communion of His Blood. I Cor. x. Only, we must always diligently consider why the Lord thus communicates Himself in holy sanctifying Communion in the holy Sacrament, namely, in order that He may live in us increasingly, and that we may live in Him as our Head, as we all there partake of the Bread. I Cor. x.

The fourth: that we in this action of the Lord's keep His memory and festival with true devotion and thankfulness, so that we always laud and praise Him in all our words and works, yea, with our whole life, for all His good deeds, for His incarnation and bitter

death whereby He hath ransomed our sins, and for this blessed Communion of His Body and Blood, that is, of His whole self, true God and man, through which we may alone obtain the right, true, and blessed life, and live both here and evermore.

Where, however, the holy Supper is not celebrated (as in the case of the parish churches where it is now celebrated but once a month, though in the cathedral it is celebrated every Sunday), but children are there to be baptized, the mystery of Baptism is explained, and the people are exhorted to a right and sacred use of this holy Sacrament.

At the conclusion of the Sermon the people sing the Creed [Apostles' Creed in a German metrical version]; or otherwise according to the time, a Psalm or hymn. When this is ended, if the holy Supper is to be celebrated, the Minister speaks to the people from the Table (Tisch):

Dearly beloved, let us beseech God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who is given unto death for the salvation of our souls, that He will send upon us the Holy Ghost, to teach us to offer, not Christ who Himself hath offered Himself for us and cannot be offered by any one, but the only true offering well-pleasing unto God, that of a contrite spirit and broken heart; and that we may render our body as a sacrifice, living, holy, and well-pleasing unto Him, which is our only reasonable service, in which we offer to God honour, thanks, and praise. May the Lord hearken unto you, and reveal His salvation.

And as follows:

The Lord be with you.

Let us pray.

[Here follow three forms of Canon which include the Intercessions; I translate only the last, which is somewhat longer than the first two.]

Almighty God and heavenly Father, Thou has promised us through Thy dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ that what we ask in His Name Thou wouldst grant unto us. The same, Thy Son our Lord, hath by Himself and by His beloved Apostles taught us to assemble ourselves in His Name, and hath promised that He will be there in the midst of us, and by Thee will obtain and procure for us that which we agree on earth to ask of Thee; and in especial He hath commanded us to pray for those whom Thou has set over us to rule and to reign, then for all things needful, both for Thy people and for all men. And forasmuch as we are all come together as before Thine eyes (to Thy praise!), and in the Name of Thy Son our Lord Jesu; we beseech Thee from our hearts, ever merciful God and Father, through the same Thy well-beloved Son our only Saviour, graciously to forgive us all our sins and offences, and so to lift up our hearts and minds unto Thee, that we may be able to ask and implore Thee with our whole heart, according to Thy righteous will and pleasure alone.

Wherefore, we beseech Thee, O heavenly Father, for our gracious rulers, Thy servants, our lord Emperor and King, and all the lords and nobles, and the magistracy of this city, that Thou wouldst grant unto them Thy holy and right sovereign Spirit, and always increase the same in them, that they may with a true faith knowledge Thee as King of all

kings and Lord of all lords, and Thy So, our Lord Jesus, as him to whom Thou has given all authority in heaven and in earth, and so to rule over their subjects, the work of Thy hands and the sheep of Thy pasture, according to all Thy good pleasure, that we here and everywhere may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and lowliness, and, being delivered from the fear of enemies, may serve Thee in all righteousness and holiness.

Furthermore, we beseech Thee, ever faithful Father and Saviour, for all those Thou hast appointed to the care of souls and to the shepherding of Thy faithful people, and to whom Thou hast entrusted the proclamation of Thy holy Gospel, that Thou wouldst give unto them and increase in them Thy Holy Spirit, that they may be found faithful, and always so serve Thee that they may everywhere gather again Thy poor wandering sheep to Christ, Thy Son, their Shepherd and Bishop, and daily be built up in Him unto all righteousness and holiness, to the eternal praise of Thy Name. [An edition of the same year, or slightly earlier, adds: 'and deliver all Thy congregations from all wolves and hirelings, who seek their own profit, and not the salvation of Thy flock.']

Moreover, we pray Thee, ever merciful God and gracious Father, for all men in general (menschen), that as Thou willest to be known a Saviour to all the world, even so draw to Thy Son our Lord Jesus those yet estranged from Him, and those also whom Thou has taught and drawn to Him, that Thou will pardon their sins, and show grace to us through Him our only Mediator; grant that these may grow and increase in such knowledge daily, that they may be filled with the fruit of all good works, live without sandal to the betterment of their neighbour and to Thy praise, and await trustfully the future and the day of Thy Son our Lord; and especially [do we pray] for those whom Thou has disciplined, those whom Thou has visited and chastened with poverty, want, imprisonment, and other misfortunes: grant to them, O Father of mercies and Lord of all consolation, that they may recognize Thy gracious, fatherly hand, and turn to Thee with their whole hearts, who alone chastenest them, so that, trusting Thee as a Father, they may finally be released from all evil.

And to us all here gathered before Thee in the Name of Thy Son and at Thy Table, grant, O God and Father, that we may right thoroughly acknowledge the sin and depravity in which we were born, and that we of ourselves are always falling more deeply into the same by our sinful life, and seeing that in our flesh and blood cannot inherit Thy kingdom, [grant also] that we may yield ourselves with whole hearts and a true faith to Thy Son, our only Redeemer and Saviour; and forasmuch as He hath not only offered His body and blood unto Thee upon the Cross for our sin, but willeth also to give it unto us for food and drink unto eternal life, [grant] that we, with our whole eager desire and all true devotion, may receive this His goodness and gift, and with true faith partake of and enjoy His true Body and true Blood, yea, Himself, our Saviour, true God and man, the only true Bread of Heaven, so that we may no more live to our sins and in depravity, but that He may live in us, and we in Him, to a holy, blessed, and eternal life; [and grant further, we beseech Thee,] that we may truly be partakers of the true and eternal Testament, the Covenant of grace, certain and confident that Thou wilt be our gracious Father for evermore, never again imputing unto us our sins, and in all things providing for us in body and in soul, as Thy dear children and heirs, so that we may at all times render

thanks and praise unto Thee, and magnify Thy holy name in all our words and works. To that end, grant, O heavenly Father, that we to-day may celebrate and keep the glorious and blessed memory of Thy beloved Son our Lord, and show forth his death, in such manner that we shall ever grow and increase in faith to Thee and in all goodness; and now and always deeply trusting in Thee, our God and Father, we do call upon Thee, and pray, as our Lord hath taught us to pray, saying:

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c. [In the text a complete German version is given, concluding with the Matthean doxology.]

At the conclusion of this prayer, the Minister (Diener) makes a short Exhortation, if he has not done so already at the end of the Sermon, to the effect that the holy Supper is to be observed with true faith and meet devotion; and he also explains the meaning of this Mystery.

After such an Exhortation and explanation, the Minister (Diener) reads the words of the Lord, as they are written in the holy Gospels and in Paul:

The Institution of the Lord's Supper

In the night in which the Lord Jesus was betrayed, while they were at supper, He took the bread, and brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and said: Take ye, eat ye, this is My Body which is given for you; do this in memory of Me. In the same manner also, He took the cup, after supper, gave thanks, and gave it to them, and said: Drink ye all of it; this is the new Testament in My Blood, which was shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in memory of Me.

Further, the Minister (Diener) speaks in these words:

Believe in the Lord, and give eternal praise and thanks unto Him.

Herewith he distributes the Bread and the Cup of the Lord, saying first these words:

Meditate upon, believe, and show forth, that Christ the Lord has died for you.

Thereupon the Church sings: Gott sey delobet, &c., or some Psalm, as announced.

After such a singing, he says once again a prayer, in this wise.

The Lord be with you.

Let us pray.

Grant unto us, O heavenly Father, that this memorial of our salvation may nevermore depart from our hearts, and that we may walk in the Light of the world and in Christ, far removed from our dull undertakings and blind wills, which are vain and injurious darkness; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Almighty God and heavenly Father, we evermore give Thee praise and thanks that Thou hast been so gracious unto us poor sinners, and hast delivered up unto death Thy Son our

Lord Jesus Christ, and given Him also for our food and nourishment unto everlasting life. Wherefore, we beseech Thee, that we may never be unmindful of these things, but that we may ever grow and increase in faith to Thee, who through love art active in all good works, and so may our whole life be [devoted] to Thy praise and to the betterment of our neighbour; through the same Thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Another Thanksgiving

Almighty, gracious, and heavenly Father, we give Thee eternal thanks and praise that Thou hast offered and given through Thy holy Gospel and Sacrament Thy precious treasure, the true Bread of Heaven and nourishment of everlasting life, our Lord Jesus Christ; and we heartily beseech Thee to grant that, receiving and partaking with true faith, we may now and for all eternity so be fed by His Body and Blood, to the end that we may be set free from all evil and increase daily in all good, to Thy glory; through the same our Lord Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Another Thanksgiving

Heavenly Father, we give Thee eternal praise and thanks that Thou hast given up Thy beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, for us poor sinners, and hast again shared with us His true Communion; and we beseech Thee, grant to us that this holy Communion may always be effective and strong in us, so that in true faith, purity, patience, and love we, sparing no diligence and putting off the flesh, may lead a new and heavenly life wholly pleasing unto Thee, to the betterment of our neighbour and to Thy praise and honour, through the same, &c.

The Conclusion

Give thanks unto the Lord.

The Blessing from Numbers vi: The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord cause His face to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you; the Lord lift up His countenance upon you, and give you peace.

Depart; [and] the Spirit of the Lord go with you unto life eternal.

[At the end of the service there is a rubric of moderate length relating to the other Sunday services. It directs that, immediately after the noon meal, a service is to be held in the Cathedral consisting of psalms, common prayers, and a sermon. At the conclusion of this service, except in the winter-time when it is too cold for the children to attend in comfort, a service of instruction for the children is held, to instruct them in the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and catechization also takes place.

After these two services, Vespers are held in the parish churches. Vespers consist of psalms and prayers, concluded by a collect. After Vespers, Baptism may be administered.

Four times in the year also, in the parish churches, a service of general congregational catechization is held morning and afternoon concerning the central facts of the Christian faith, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments, and the issues of all these in daily life and works.]

ON BUCER (MAXWELL'S COMMENTARY)

Several points of interest may be noted in this rite. First, the intercessions stand at the beginning of the Consecration Prayer; this follows the Roman custom, not that represented by the primitive rites in which the intercessions normally followed consecration.

Secondly, the Words of Institution have been removed from the Prayer of Consecration, and now stand alone as a warrant. This was in keeping with early practice, and does not affect the validity of consecration. It may be argued that if the Words of Institution are included in the Consecration Prayer as part of the memorial made before God, it enriches the objective content of the rite. But it cannot be said that they are essential to consecration. Consecration is not by formula but by prayer; it may even be by intention.

Thirdly, communion at Strasbourg was received standing or kneeling, the people going forward to the Holy Table. The celebrant stood at the north end of the Holy Table to give the Bread, and the assisting minister stood at the south end to minister the Cup. The communicants formed a continuous line down the central passage of the nave, coming slowly forward to receive first the Bread then the Wine, and so returning to their places.

In conclusion, we may observe that in the German rites of Strasbourg there emerges, for the first time after the Reformation, the service that was to become the norm of Sunday Morning Worship in the Reformed Churches, namely, the Eucharistic service with the offertory, consecration, and communion omitted. Like the eucharist, it was conducted from the Holy Table, the minister adopting the basilican posture. Such a service lacks the centrality of the eucharist, but it is immensely richer in content and broader in scope than worship that takes a quire office as its norm.

DOCUMENT 33

CALVIN'S FRENCH RITES AT STRASBOURG AND GENEVA

CALVIN RESTORES EUCHARIST'S PRIMITIVE SIMPLICITY; CELEBRATION AND COMMUNION

To imagine that Calvin wished to replace sacramental worship by a preaching service is completely to misunderstand his mind and work and to ignore all that he taught and did. His aim was twofold: to restore the eucharist in its primitive simplicity and true proportions – celebration *and* communion – as he central weekly service, and, within this service, to give the Holy Scriptures their authoritative place. The Lord's Supper, in all its completeness, was the norm he wished to establish.

CALVIN AT STRASBOURG, 1538-41

Calvin's rite first took form when he was minister of the Congregation of French exiles at Strasbourg from 1538 to 1541. He had been banished from Geneva partly because of his sacramental views, and he had come to Strasbourg to teach theology and to minister to the exiles there, a little group harried out of France because of their allegiance to the Reformed teaching, who had found refuge and hospitality at Strasbourg since 1533.

Until Calvin came to Strasbourg, the German magistrates had not permitted the French to celebrate the Lord's Supper; and, unless they may have used Farel's *Maniere et Fasson*, published at Neuchatel in 1533, they had no formulary of worship. But shortly after Calvin's arrival they were granted permission to celebrate the Lord's Supper monthly, in accordance with what was now customary in the parish churches of Strasbourg which followed Bucer. It at once became imperative that the French Congregation should have a service book, and there may even have been some arrangement not recorded that the French services should closely approximate to the German; in any event, Calvin seems to have had a high opinion of the worship then established in Strasbourg, or he adopted it almost word for word.

CALVIN'S STANDARD: THE EARLY CHURCH

Calvin detested what he called the 'monkeying' of the medieval mass, and his standard was the corporate worship of the early Church. This fact appears often in his writings, and he sought to make his ideal perfectly clear by entitling his service book, *The Form of Prayers and Manner of Ministering the Sacraments according to the Use of the Ancient Church*. The worship he found at Strasbourg appeared to him to conform to this model; accordingly, as he himself said, 'As for the Sunday prayers, I took the form of Strasbourg, and borrowed the greater part of it.' An examination and comparison of the texts of the French and German rites undoubtedly confirms the truth of this statement.

GERMAN LITURGIES TRANSLATED INTO LATIN, FRENCH; CALVIN WORKS ON FRENCH LITURGY

Since Calvin did not read or speak German, he had recourse to the services of a friend to translate the German rite into Latin or French. With this draft before him, he proceeded to render it into literary French. By the end of the year 1539, or early in 1540, his task was finished; and he was able to publish his first complete service book, which included several psalms in French metre, with the melodies, for congregational singing. This first edition is now lost, but a copy of the second edition is in the University Library at Geneva. This Strasbourg edition (1542) is not to be confused with the Geneva edition of the same year.

A third edition of the Strasbourg rite was published in 1545, and in this form was used by Valerand Pullain, one of those who succeeded Calvin as minister of the French exiles, and who with his congregation later took refuge in London. Several editions of Pullain's rite after 1551 exist, some in Latin and others in French.

CALVIN'S LITURGY PARALLELS STRASBOURG LITURGY

The rite used by Calvin at Geneva, after he was recalled, was first published in 1542, and many editions from 1547 onwards are extant. This was a slightly simplified form of his Strasbourg rite, but the matter is essentially the same. The close structural relationship is apparent if the schemes of the three rites are set out in parallel columns: Bucer's of 1537-9; Calvin's of 1540, 1542, 1545, at Strasbourg; and Calvin's at Geneva, 1542, 1547 onwards.

<i>The Liturgy of the Word</i>		
Stras. German, 1537	Stras. French, 1540, &c.	Geneva, 1542, &c.
	Scripture Sentence: Ps. cxxiv. 8	Scripture Sentence: Ps. cxxiv. 8
Confession of sins	Confession of sins	Confession of sins
Scriptural words of Pardon (I Tim. i)	Scriptural words of pardon	Prayer for pardon
Absolution	Absolution	
Psalm, hymn, or <i>Kyries</i> and <i>Gloria in excelsis</i>	Metrical Decalogue sung with <i>Kyrie eleison</i> (Gr.) after each Law	Metrical psalm
Collect for Illumination	Collect for Illumination	Collect for Illumination
Metrical Psalm		
Lection (Gospel)	Lection	Lection
Sermon	Sermon	Sermon
<i>The Liturgy of the Upper Room</i>		
Collection of alms	Collection of alms	Collection of alms
Preparation of elements		
While		
Apostles' Creed sung		
Intercessions and Consecration	Intercessions	Intercessions

Prayer		
Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer in long paraphrase	Lord's Prayer in long paraphrase
	Preparation of elements while	Preparation of elements while
	Apostles' Creed sung	Apostles' Creed sung
	Consecration Prayer	
	Lord's Prayer	
Exhortation	Words of Institution	Words of Institution
Words of Institution	Exhortation	Exhortation
		Consecration Prayer
Fraction	Fraction	Fraction
Delivery	Delivery	Delivery
Communion, while psalm	Communion, while psalm	Communion, while psalm
Or hymn sung	sung	or Scriptures read
Post-communion collect	Post-communion collect	Post-communion collect
	<i>Nunc dimittis in metre</i>	
Aaronic Blessing	Aaron Blessing	Aaronic Blessing
Dismissal		

CHANGES MADE BY CALVIN

The principal changes Calvin made were: to reduce the number of variants, choosing as his confession of sins one modelled upon the second in Bucer's rite, and as his intercessions and consecration one modeled upon the last of these in Bucer's rite; he also added a long and tiresome paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. The Decalogue in metre was introduced, the two tables divided by a short collect for grace to keep God's Law; although this is the first time the Decalogue is mentioned in the texts, Bucer's description previously quoted from his *Grund und Ursach* states that it was used at Strasbourg. Calvin also includes the *Nunc dimittis* after communion; but this too is mentioned in the early texts of Strasbourg, and though it disappears from the texts, it probably continued in use. His other changes are only slight alterations of order. We may observe, however, that the structure of his Geneva rite is more meager; this was no doubt the result of the extreme opinions that prevailed there among the magistracy, who insisted that the rite be as 'simple' as possible. We may take the Strasbourg rites as being a better indication of Calvin's own mind. It is, accordingly, of interest to include here a part of the description and *apologia* with which he prefaced his service book of 1545.

'We begin,' he writes, 'with confession of our sins, adding verses from the Law and the Gospel [i.e. words of absolution], ... and after we are assured that, as Jesus Christ has righteousness and life in Himself, and that, as He lives for the sake of the Father, we are justified in Him and live in the new life through the same Jesus Christ, ... we continue with psalms, hymns of praise, the reading of the Gospel, the confession of our faith [i.e. the Apostles' Creed], and the holy oblations and offerings. ... And, ... quickened and stirred by the reading and preaching of the Gospel and the confession of our faith, ... it follows that we must pray for the salvation of all men, for the life of Christ should be greatly enkindled within us. Now, the life of Christ consists in this, namely, to seek and to save that which is lost; fittingly, then, we pray for all men. And, because we receive Jesus Christ truly in this Sacrament, ... we worship Him in spirit and in truth; and

receive the eucharist with great reverence, concluding the whole mystery with praise and thanksgiving. This, therefore, is the whole order and reason for its administration in this manner; and it agrees also with the administration in the ancient Church of the Apostles, martyrs, and holy Fathers.'

CALVIN'S INTENT

This makes it perfectly clear that it was Calvin's wish to restore the eucharist in its primitive simplicity and completeness as the weekly worship of the Church. The Holy Scriptures, read in course and expounded, were given their central place as in the ancient rites; but he was concerned to restore not the Scriptures alone, but also weekly communion. To Calvin the 'means of grace' were twofold, consisting of *both* the Word and the Sacraments. The Ministry was a ministry of the Word *and* the Sacraments. A minister's task and office was not only to preach and instruct, but also to celebrate the Lord's Supper every week, and to teach and urge the people to communicate weekly. This Calvin himself strove to do all his life, and he set it up as an ideal for his followers who should come after him.

It is lamentably true that he was never permitted to realize his own ideal; the magistrates of Geneva, with their civil authority, intervened. They, not he, were responsible for the fact that the Zwinglian example of separating the eucharist from the regular Sunday worship was followed at Geneva.

Calvin first made his attitude clear in the *Institutes*, written before he came to Geneva, where he protested sharply against infrequent communion as prevalent in the Old Church.

'Indeed,' he writes, 'this custom that enjoins that men should communicate only Once a year is certainly an invention of the devil. The Lord's Supper should be celebrated in the Christian congregation once a week at the very least.'

Calvin never swerved from this position. Before 1538 he fought stoutly for it in Geneva, and the record of that struggle is preserved for us in the memoranda of the City Council. The struggle ended when the magistrates banished him from Geneva in 1538. After a period in Strasbourg, he was invited to return to Geneva. This time, 'for the sake of peace', he gave way to the magistrates, who would not consent to celebrations more frequent than quarterly, though it is expressly stated in the minutes that this was to be only 'for the present'. He sought to mitigate the stringency of these decrees by arranging that the dates of communion should vary in each church in the city, thus providing opportunity for more frequent communion for the people, who might communicate in a neighbouring parish. But the magistrates would not consent to this, and the times finally fixed were Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and Harvest-tide.

But if Calvin was forced to acquiesce in practice, he never failed to express his dissatisfaction with things as they were in this respect. In edition after edition of the

Institutes he asserted it, as also frequently in his correspondence. There is, for example, this letter to the Magistrates of Berne, written in 1555:

‘There is another matter, though not a new one [to which I would call your attention], namely, that we celebrate the Lord’s Supper four times a year, and you three times. Please God, gentlemen, that both you and we may be able to establish a more frequent usage. For it is evident from St. Luke in the Book of Acts that communion was much more frequently celebrated in the primitive Church; and that continued for a long time in the ancient Church, until this abomination of the mass was set up by Satan, who so caused it that people received communion only once or twice a year. Wherefore, we must acknowledge that it is a defect in us that we do not follow the example of the Apostles.’

Calvin regarded the Holy Scriptures as the supreme authority in faith and life, and, unlike many of his followers then and later, he was not afraid to face the implications of his conviction. And he saw clearly that one of these implications was frequent communion. Instruction and exposition was another implication, but it was not the only one.

Six years later, in 1561, Calvin once more declared his disappointment with the practice at Geneva, lamenting that his hands were tied, but hoping for better things in the future; and he concluded:

‘I have taken care to record publicly that our custom is defective, so that those who come after me may be able to correct it the more freely and easily.’

Thus, as a result of civic interference, Calvin was forced into a practice that he abhorred, and which he knew to be completely at variance with the teaching and practice of the New Testament and the early Church.

Two further matters may also be noted. The order of receiving communion in Calvin’s rite was the normal order throughout the Church, the celebrant receiving first, then his ministers, and the people. Communion was received standing or kneeling, the people coming forward to the Holy Table, where, as at Strasbourg, they received the Bread from one minister and the Cup from another.

On the Sundays when the communion was not celebrated, Calvin followed the practice that had become customary in Strasbourg in the parish churches after 1530. The order, structure, and content of the Eucharistic service were largely retained, but such parts as belonged directly to consecration and communion were necessarily omitted. This practice was followed in Scotland after the Reformation, and also in England by Anglicans and Puritans alike.

It is not necessary for our purpose to pursue further the history of Calvin’s rite on the Continent. Suffice it to state that it became the norm of worship in the Calvinistic Churches of France, Switzerland, South Germany, Holland, Denmark, and elsewhere.

There were many local variants of the rite, but they were all closely related members of one family. And to-day, as the modern service books show, their worship follows the same lines.

CONCLUSION: DOUMERGUE

We conclude with Doumergue's estimate of Calvin's rite:

'Shall it be said that ... the true Calvinian cults was by nature cold and impoverished? Those who were present at the services have told us that often they could not keep back the tears of their emotion and joy. Singings and prayers, adoration and edification, confession and absolution of sins, acts both formal and spontaneous: all the essential elements of worship were there. And, perhaps not less important, they were united in an organism that was very simple, yet supple and strong. Calvin is, in fact, of all the Reformers the one who most steadfastly rejected the division of worship into two parts. ... The Calvinian cultus is one.

DOCUMENT 34

加爾文教派的崇拜

布賽珥 (Bucer) 的斯特拉堡崇拜儀式
(1574)加爾文的日內瓦崇拜儀式
(1542)

話語的敬拜

認罪
 讀赦罪的聖經節
 赦罪
 唱詩篇、聖詩、或者慈悲經和榮耀經
 啟示的禱告（應譯為：光照的禱告）
 唱有韻詩篇
 讀經（福音書信）
 講道

讀詩 124：8
 認罪
 赦罪的禱告
 唱有韻的詩篇
 啟示的禱告（應譯為：光照的禱告）
 讀經
 講道

聖餐的聚會

收奉獻
 預備聖品（唱使徒信經）
 代禱
 奉獻的禱告
 主禱文
 訓誡
 設立聖餐
 擘餅和分餅、杯
 恭守聖餐（讀詩篇或聖經）
 聖餐後的禱告
 亞倫的祝福

收奉獻
 代禱
 主禱文
 預備聖品（唱使徒信經）
 設立聖餐
 訓誡
 奉獻的禱告
 擘餅和分餅、杯
 恭守聖餐（讀詩篇或聖經）
 聖餐後的禱告
 亞倫的祝福

Donald Hustad, *Jubilate II*; 中譯：《當代聖樂與崇拜》，臺北：校園出版社，1998，頁 227-228。

DOCUMENT 35

THE REFORMED RITES IN SCOTLAND

WILL SCOTLAND GO WITH ENGLAND?

1557 LORDS OF CONGREGATION ADOPTS 1552 *BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER*

The Reforming party in Scotland during the decade that preceded the legalization of the Reformation in 1560 was not always wholly identical with the party that favoured an alliance with England instead of with France. But there were many who desired to extend to Scotland the English revolt against the Papacy; and a formulary of worship in the tongue common to both countries was ready at hand in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. To use such a book based upon English medieval formularies was also a natural liturgical development, for the use of Sarum had been generally followed in Scotland after the earlier Celtic use had been abandoned. Accordingly, the service book to which they now turned was not a continental formulary but the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. In this revision the influence of Calvinians had been active, and the new book appears to have been particularly acceptable in the North. Knox, though he objected to kneeling at communion, had at this time on the whole a 'good opinion' of the book, and John Rough, Knox's co-pastor at St. Andrews, also approved of it, 'as agreeing in all points with the Word of God.' In 1557 the 'Lords of the Congregation,' that is, the nobles and barons of the Reforming party, entered into a bond or covenant; and the first resolution they passed was one adopting the *Book of Common Prayer*, 1552:

'It is thought expedient, devised, and ordeaned, that in all parochines of this Realme the Common Prayeris be read owklike on Sonnday and other festuall dayis, publiclie in the Paroche Kirkis, with the Lessonis of the New and Old Testament, conform to the ordour of the Book of Common Prayeris: and yf the Curattis of the parochynes be qualified, to cause thame to reid the samyn; and yf thai be nott, or yf thai refuse, that maist qualified in the parish use and read the same.'

1562 *FORME OF PRAYERS (BCO)* SUPERCEDES 1552 *BCP*

This had not the force of law, but it had the consent of all the Reforming party, and there can be no doubt that the book, banned by Mary before it could come into general use in England, was used for a time in many parishes in Scotland. It was officially superseded by the *Forme of Prayers* or *Book of Common Order* in 1562 for ministration of the sacraments, and finally for all purposes in 1564. Yet, while these enactments were probably generally obeyed, it was some years before the English book quite disappeared from Scottish use.

ORIGINS OF *BCO*: ANGLICANS WIN OVER KNOX AT FRANKFORT, 1554;
KNOX BANISHED TO GENEVA, *FORM OF PRAYERS* PUBLISHED IN 1556

We find the origins of the *Book of Common Order* at Frankfort-on-Main, where in 1554 a group of English exiles gathered, refugees from the Marian persecutions. The majority of these exiles were Calvinians, but many of them, while following Calvin in doctrine, preferred the *Book of Common Prayer*. Others, among them John Knox, were strongly attracted by Calvin's forms of worship as well as by his theological teaching. Neither part would accept the other's view, nor could they agree upon a basis of compromise. Eventually the Anglican party got the upper hand, with the result that in 1555 Knox, the acknowledged leader of the Calvinians, was banished from Frankfort. Going to Geneva, he soon gathered about him a congregation of English exiles, and became their first minister. A Calvinian form of service in English had been drawn up at Frankfort in 1554, but it was never used there. Now, however, it was revived and perhaps revised; and, if not already in existence, orders for the celebration of Holy Communion, the solemnization of matrimony, and the ministration of baptism were added, together with injunctions concerning the ordination of ministers, visitation of the sick, and burial of the dead. A preface and longer 'letter to the faithful' were composed as introductions, and Calvin's Catechism in English, a few metrical psalms in English, and some private prayers were placed at the end of the liturgical portions. Much of this work was done while Knox was absent from Geneva, and the leading spirit was probably William Whittingham, a lay member of the first committee at Frankfort, afterwards ordained at Geneva, who later became Dean of Durham.

This book, the first Reformed rite in English, was printed in Geneva in 1556 under the title, *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua; and approued by the famous and godly learned man, Iohn Caluin*. The same year, a Latin edition entitled, *Ratio et forma publice orandi Deum, &c.*, was issued for the perusal of such scholars as were unable to read English.

The Forme of Prayers passed through successive editions in its English form. There was no change made in the orders themselves, but additional prayers were included as alternatives, many of them drawn from Huycke's English translation of Calvin's service book after slight revision. In these later editions the metrical psalter was gradually extended until it was completed in Lekprevik's Edinburgh edition, 1564.

KNOX INFLUENCED BY CALVIN

In my *John Knox's Genevan Service Book* extensive textual evidence is given to show that *The Forme of Prayers* is derived directly from Calvin's service book, *La Forme des priers*. At the same time, *The Forme of Prayers* is not a slavish translation, and evidence of an independent spirit is not lacking. In the Sunday Morning Order and in the form for the celebration of the Lord's Supper new intercessions and a new prayer of consecration appear; both of these are similar to Calvin's in spirit and doctrinal content, but there is no verbal agreement. After 1562 Calvin's intercessions and consecration prayer are included as alternatives. In other parts of *The Forme of Prayers* the influence of the *Book of Common Prayer*, 1552, may be detected, particularly in the marriage service and in the exhortation before communion.

Here is the scheme of the Order for the Celebration of the Lord's Supper:

The Liturgy of the Word

Confession of sins
Prayer for pardon
Psalm in metre
Prayer for illumination
Scripture Lection
Sermon

The Liturgy of the Upper Room

Collection of alms (?)
Thanksgiving and Intercessions
Lord's Prayer
Apostles' Creed (prose version)
Offertory: preparation or presentation of elements while a psalm in metre is sung
Words of Institution
Exhortation
Prayer of Consecration:
 Adoration
 Thanksgiving for creation and redemption
 Anamnesis
 Doxology
Fraction
Ministers' communion
Delivery
People's communion, while celebrant reads 'the whole historie of the Passion'
Post-communion thanksgiving
Psalm ciii in metre
Aaronic or Apostolic Blessing

ANALYSIS OF KNOX'S LITURGY: SIMPLE, CATHOLIC

This is the eucharist reduced to its simplest elements, but, as this analysis of its structure shows, it is by no means an inadequate vehicle of devotion, and its composition is unmistakably catholic.

The Liturgy of the Word, though its parts were few, was of considerable length, for the lection and sermon together normally occupied an hour or more. The Scriptures were read in course, the sermon being an exposition and exhortation based upon the lection.

From the liturgical point of view, the most serious omission in this rite was the epiclesis, though such an omission was common to the Roman, Anglican, and the other Reformed and Lutheran rites. The epiclesis, however, had been a part of the old Celtic rite; and there are grounds for believing that its use never quite died out in Scotland. In any case, the lack of an epiclesis was soon generally felt, and though one does not appear in the texts until later, there is evidence that an epiclesis was comparatively early supplied in practice. For example, Row complains about a celebration of the Holy Communion in St. Giles', Edinburgh, in 1622, where, although the minister 'kneeled and prayed', and 'read the prayer of consecration', there was in it 'not one word of "Lord bless the elements and action"'; while Calderwood, writing about 1620, says that it had been the custom in Scotland for sixty years, that is, since the first days of the Reformation, to 'bless' the Bread and Wine. A proposed revision of 1629 indicates the form taken by the Scottish epiclesis:

'Mercifull Father we beseech thee that wee receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy sonne our Saviour has holy institution, may be made partakers of his most blessed body and blood. Send doune o Lord thy blessing upon the Sacrament that it may be unto us the effectual exhibitiv instrument of the Lord Jesus.

An epiclesis appears in most Scottish forms from 'Laud's Liturgy' and the Westminster *Directory* to the present day.

The elements used in Geneva were ordinarily bread and wine, and these also were generally used in Scotland; in many parishes, however, wafer bread, or unleavened bread in some form, still continued in use; and the admixture of water to the wine was not unknown.

SCOTTISH PRACTICE: INFREQUENT COMMUNION

At the English Church in Geneva, communion appears to have been celebrated monthly, and the rubric enjoining this custom was continued in the Scottish edition of *The Forme of Prayers*. But in actual practice, as an Act passed by the General Assembly in 1562 indicates, communion was celebrated in Scotland only quarterly in the large towns, and less frequently in the country. The primary reasons for these infrequent celebrations was the shortage of ministers, making it impossible for all the parishes to be adequately served; a secondary, but forceful reason was the old pre-Reformation habit of communicating only once a year or less frequently; and we may also believe that the practice at Geneva exercised some influence in this direction, in spite of Calvin's own remonstrances. By the time that every parish could be supplied with an ordained minister, infrequent communion had established itself, and it is still general in Scotland, although monthly communion is now common and weekly communion is not unknown.

Communion was received sitting; but the Scottish practice differed from Zwinglian practice in that the people came forward and sat at a long Communion Table placed in the quire or nave. This ancient Scottish Reformed custom has almost disappeared; and the Bread and Wine are now taken by the elders to the people in their pews, which, however, in many churches are covered at Communion Seasons with white linen or 'housselling cloths'. This method of communicating the people in pews is first encountered in Zurich under Zwingli; it was not introduced into Scotland until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Dr. Chalmers, then minister of St. John's Parish Church, Glasgow, appears to have been the first to discontinue the long Table and to communicate the people in their pews, thereby copying the English Nonconformist practice.

As with Calvin, the Lord's Supper was the norm of public worship in Scotland. When communion was not celebrated, as much as possible of the eucharist was retained, only that which pertained to consecration and communion being omitted. After the recitation of the Creed (see the tabular form [on p. 123] above), a metrical psalm followed, and the service was concluded with the Blessing. Thus, Scottish Sunday Morning Worship was based upon the eucharist, and not upon the Hours' Offices.

CHRISTIAN YEAR ABANDONED; DIRECTORY NOT MANDATORY

The Church of Scotland alone of all the Reformed Churches formally abandoned the Christian Year; but this was an abandonment in theory rather than in practice, for in a large number of parishes the chief festivals continued to be observed.

We must also remember that *The Forme of Prayers* or *Book of Common Order*, as it was variously called, was not a fixed and absolute formulary such as the *Book of Common Prayer*, but rather a standard of worship which left much to the minister's discretion. At the same time, it is a mistake to imagine either that it was a mere directory or that it was never in wide use. The Act of Assembly indicates that it is to be followed at the sacraments is especial; and the large number of editions through which it passed is clear evidence that the demand for it must have been both general and sustained, until in 1645 it was displaced by the Westminster *Directory*.

It was no doubt largely owing to Knox's championship that *The Forme of Prayers* was introduced in Scotland after 1560. He had been soured by his controversies in Frankfurt with the Anglican party; while in Geneva he had found so much to his liking that he declared the Genevan Church to be 'the maist perfyt schoole of Chryst that ever was in the erth since the dayis of the Apostillis', and 'manneris and religioun so sinceirlye reformat' he had 'not yit sene in any uther place'. This enthusiasm for Geneva, its worship and discipline, he carried back with him to Scotland; and in the end his counsel prevailed.

William A. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship*, pp.120-127.

DOCUMENT 36

THE WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY OF WORSHIP

CHARLES I ANGERS THE SCOTS;
REBELLION ALSO STIRS IN ENGLAND

The Forme of Prayers or Book of Common Order continued to be the standard of worship in Scotland for over eighty years after the establishment of the Reformation. During this time, there were attempts at revision: the King desired to see the worship brought into closer uniformity with England; another party desired a closer approximation to the practice of English and Irish Nonconformity. Space forbids a close examination here of these divergences of opinion. Suffice it to say that Charles I urged on the work that his father had begun, but failed to carry the Church of Scotland with him, largely owing to his obstinate Erastianism. This met with blunt opposition in Scotland, and the crisis came in 1637, when Charles attempted to enforce the use of the book prepared at his command by some Scottish bishops under the direction of Archbishop Laud. This Scottish *Book of Common Prayer* was in many ways an excellent production, but it failed to meet Scottish views at certain points. The crowning error, however, on the part of the King was his attempt to enforce its use by an Order in Council without consulting the Scottish Church. The result was its instant rejection, and the whole country broke out in revolt. The National Covenant, a document asserting the religious liberty of the Church, was circulated and signed; and in 1638 at the General Assembly convened in Glasgow Cathedral the bishops were deposed (the Scottish Church had been under a constitutional episcopate since 1610), Presbyterianism was re-established, the King's book repudiated, and the *Book of Common Order* restored. The King sent his army against the Covenanters; but England too began to stir in rebellion against Charles, and in order to make peace with Scotland he agreed to the ratification of the Glasgow Assembly's proceedings.

WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY OF WORSHIP

Later, however, many of the Scottish people, under the leadership of the Church, and lured by the prospect of the establishment of a common Presbyterianism in England and Scotland, were drawn into an alliance with the English rebels. This alliance was ratified by the Solemn League and Covenant. The ensuing coalition of forces served to overthrow the King, and soon afterwards Parliament set up a commission of divines at Westminster to report upon a form of ecclesiastical government, a confession of faith, and forms of worship. Scottish representatives were present, but had not the right to vote. Nevertheless, they exercised a considerable influence upon the Assembly, whose work proceeded rapidly and amicably, except for the diversions of the 'five dissenting brethren' who were irascible English Independents. In the end, the Westminster *Confession of Faith* was produced, together with *The Form of Presbyterial Government*

and a *Directory for Public Worship*. In 1645 these were accepted by the Scottish Assembly, but in England they had a short life except among the Presbyterian.

Our concern here is only with the Directory. The influence of the *Book of Common Prayer* and *The Forme of Prayers* is discernible in the framing of the *Directory*, though this pursued a course distinctive to itself. It contained no prayers, but gave precise directions concerning the order and content of every service. The verbal agreement with *The Forme of Prayers* is extensive. The structure of the Sunday Morning Order is a compromise between *The Forme of Prayers*, Morning Prayer in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and certain Independent practices.

The following is the scheme of the rite for the celebration of the Lord's Supper:

The Liturgy of the Word

Call to worship – 'let us worship God'

Prayer of Approach:

Adoration

Supplication for worthiness

Supplication for illumination

Lection from Old Testament – one chapter in course

Lection from New Testament – one chapter in course

Metrical psalms to be sung before and, or, between the lections

Prayer of confession and intercession:

An explicit and lengthy Confession of sins, with prayer for pardon and absolution, and for a sanctified life; intercessions for the whole world, the Reformed and British Churches, the King, Parliament, and all in authority; for pastors, teachers, schools, universities, city or town, the local congregation, all in distress; for seasonable weather and fruitful seasons; and for the sanctification of the Lord's Day; together with prayer for grace to enter into fuller fellowship with God; and for the minister in his office and life.

Sermon

General Prayer:

Thanksgiving, more especially for the Gospel and for redemption; supplications related to the heads of the sermon; self-oblation together with prayer for the acceptance of the spiritual sacrifice of worship; special prayer and intercession suited to the needs of the times. (In Scottish use, the whole of the intercessions might be include din this prayer.)

The Lord's Prayer; after which, if there was no celebration of Holy Communion, the service concluded with a Psalm of Praise and the solemn blessing of the people.

The Liturgy of the Upper Room

Offertory:

(No specific directions, but it may be inferred from the rubrics following that at this point the Holy table was decently covered, the elements placed thereon in suitable vessels; during hwihc, it may be supposed, the Psalm mentioned above was sung.)

Invitatory exhortation, and Fencing of Tables
 Setting apart of elements from all common uses
 Words of Institution
 Exhortation
 Prayer of Consecration:
 Prayer of Access
 Thanksgiving for Creation and Providence
 Thanksgiving for Redemption
 Thanksgiving for the Word and Sacraments
 Epiclesis
 Fraction
 Delivery
 Communion (Celebrant receiving first)
 Exhortation to a worthy life
 Post-communion Prayer:
 Thanksgiving for benefits received in Communion
 Prayer for a worthy life
 Metrical Psalm of praise
 Solemn Blessing

**CHARACTERISTICS: MINUTE DETAILS; INFLUENCE OF
 ENGLISH INDEPENDENT VIEWS; LORD'S PRAYER,
 DOXOLOGY, LECTIONS ETC. FELL INTO DISUSE**

This service is comprehensive, but so excessively minute in its detail as to be unpractical by reason of its great length. It was not accepted by the Scottish General Assembly without important reservations and revisions. It was specifically stated in the Act that approval of the *Directory* should 'be no prejudice to the order and practice of this Kirk', and that communicants were to receive seated at the Table, not remaining in the pews. It also prescribed that the old custom of including the intercessions in the prayer after sermon should not be abandoned in Scotland, but should be continued as formerly. The Scots objected strongly to the English Independents' practice of placing the long prayer before the sermon.

Even with this cautious approval, certain unhappy results followed. The Creed dropped out of use, a concession to extreme English Independent views, and with it the doxology formerly sung at the end of the psalms. The recital of the Lord's Prayer, though enjoined in the *Directory*, soon fell into disuse. At this time, too, many Readers were suppressed; and the result was, as Baillie had foretold in a 'paper to his colleagues', the discontinuance of daily prayers. 'For three or four years the ministers in Edinburgh had daily prayers with exposition, but they tired of it.' Indeed, during the next century it became general not to read the Holy Scriptures in public worship, but merely to expound them at great length. There are signs that this neglect of Scripture lections began early, for, seven years after the *Directory* had been approved in Scotland, we find an Interim Act passed by the General Assembly in 1652, enjoining that two chapters be read (with

brief expositions) from the Old and New Testaments. But neglect crept in once more, to be finally denounced by the Assembly of 1856 in response to an overture, and ministers were enjoined to follow the *Directory* in its injunctions ‘respecting the reading of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments at each diet of public worship.’

It is not possible here to trace in detail the decline in the due ordering of public worship which followed the Cromwellian period, and which lasted until the mid-nineteenth century. Communion was celebrated very infrequently, the structure of the ordinary services was bare in the extreme, sometimes reduced to the singing of a metrical psalm, followed by a long prayer, another psalm, the sermon, and a long concluding prayer, after which another psalm was sung, to be followed by the benediction. After 1650 the metrical Psalter was that of Rous, as revised by the General Assembly. The number of tunes in use was very limited until the latter part of the eighteenth century. The Paraphrases were first drafted in 1745, and were issued in their present form in 1781, though never formally authorized by the Church. The practice whereby the precentor repeated each line in a monotone, on the note to be taken up by the people, also went far to degrade the music. This was an innovation derived from England, where the standard of general education was so low that few of the country people and poorer classes in the towns could read; but it was speedily naturalized in Scotland in the eighteenth century, and was not generally departed from until the nineteenth. Hymns were gradually admitted into public worship.

DOCUMENT 37

THE ENGLISH RITE: CRANMER'S FIRST *BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER*, 1549

The Church of England, after the Reformation, inclined doctrinally to Calvinism, but in liturgical practice it was more closely related to Lutheranism. Yet the Anglican Church cannot be classified under either category, and its own contribution to both doctrine and worship is unique. As in the Church of Scotland, the only doctrines expressly repudiated were the two extremes of transubstantiation and sacramentarianism; while the development of its worship followed a course peculiar to itself.

Under Henry VIII the Church of England broke with the papacy, but the mass remained for many years unaltered. Steps were taken, however, in 1536 further the instruction of the people in the meaning of the ritual and ceremonial; and in 1542 the Convocation of Canterbury ordered that every morning and evening a chapter from the Old Testament and one from the New should be read in English in all parish churches on Sundays and holy days. Two years later, in 1544, the litany first appeared in English form.

But it was after Henry's death, and during the reign of the youthful Edward VI, that the influence of the Reformation movement became paramount in England.

In 1547 the *First Book of Homilies*, containing twelve sermons in English was published; and later in that year a royal injunction ordered that, in addition to the lections prescribed to be read in English in 1542, the Epistle and Gospel should now also be read in English at high mass.

In March of the following year Cranmer's English *Order for Communion* was issued. It provided that communion should be given in both kinds, that the people should be informed in advance when mass was to be celebrated, and that they should also be instructed how to prepare for communion. The *Order* itself consisted of an exhortation, a fencing of the Table, invitation, general confession of sins and absolution, comfortable words, and a prayer of humble access. This *Order* was to be inserted in the mass, after the celebrant's communion; and was incorporated in the text of the first Prayer Book, 1549, the exhortation before the offertory, and the remainder immediately preceding the communion.

The first *Book of Common Prayer* was chiefly the work of Cranmer, although he was assisted by Ridley and others. It preserved a rich treasure of liturgical material, the whole rendered in an English style singularly felicitous, dignified, and chaste. The character of the collects was retained, the English style equaling the Latin, while the style of the Canon far surpassed that of the old rite. The achievement was unique in that the *Book of Common Prayer*, in contrast with the other vernacular rites of the sixteenth century, survives in use to this day.

Although as much as possible of the old rite was retained, its character was fundamentally changed by the revision of the Canon: an epiclesis, based upon St. Basil's, was inserted as part of the consecration preceding the Words of Institution, and the doctrine of sacrifice was expressed as a 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' and the offering of 'ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto' God. The whole service was also to be said in a clear voice.

Communion was an essential part of the rite, and at every celebration some of the people were required to communicate. On Wednesdays and Fridays, if there were no communicants, all that followed the Offertory was omitted, and one or two collects were added to conclude the service. This service was known as Ante-Communion, and it was in accordance with the custom of the Reformed Churches on the Continent. Communion was to be celebrated at least every Sunday and Holy Day, at which times also a sermon was to be preached or a homily read.

The other changes are comparatively unimportant, but they all contributed to alter the character of the rite in accordance with the Reformed theology. The old *Confiteor* was replaced by a general confession of sins, and its position was changed; the celebrants' preparation was reduced to the repetition of the Lord's Prayer and the collect for purity. The Introits became in most cases complete psalms; and in the prayers the mediation of the Virgin Mary and the Saints was rejected. The lectionary was revised, and the number of saints' days drastically reduced, while many changes were made in the collects. The intercessions remained in their old position at the beginning of the Canon, and with them were included the prayers for the departed. The celebrant's private prayers were omitted throughout, and the ceremonial simplified. The Fraction accompanied the Dominical Words in the Consecration Prayer.

This appears in the scheme below. The new title was, 'The Supper of the Lorde and the holy Communion, commonly called the Masse'.

The Liturgy of the Word

Introit: 'a Psalm appointed for that daie' sung by clerks

Celebrant's Preparation:

Lord's Prayer

Collect for purity

Repetition of the introit

Kyries, ninefold in English with 'upon us' added

Gloria in excelsis

Salutation and collect of the day

Collect for the king

Epistle

Gospel (with people's response)

Nicene Creed

Sermon or Homily

The Liturgy of the Upper Room

Exhortation to right communion; and, when necessary, to frequent communion

Offertory:

Scripture sentences, said by celebrant or sung by clerks

Collection of alms and other offerings

Communicants go to choir, men on one side and women on other

Preparation of bread and wine, and admixture

Salutation and *Sursum corda*

Prayer of Consecration:

Preface, and Proper Preface (5 only)

Sanctus and *Benedictus qui venit*

Intercessions for the living and dead

Commemoration of Passion

Epiclesis

Words of Institution, and manual acts including Fraction

Anamnesis

Oblation:

Of 'this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving'

Of 'ourselves, our souls and bodies'

Petition that Angels may bear our prayers on high

Conclusion and Doxology

Lord's Prayer, with protocol and embolism, the latter reduced to 'But deliver us from evil'

The Peace

Christ our Pascall Lambe (Paraphrase of I Cor. v. 7, 8; I Pet. ii. 24; and *Ecce Agnus Dei*, John i. 29)

Cranmer's 'Order for Communion':

Invitation

General Confession and Absolution

Comfortable Words

Prayer of humble access

Celebrant's, ministers' and people's communion in both kinds, while clerks sing *Agnus Dei*

Post-communion Scripture Sentences, said or sung

Salutation and Post-communion thanksgiving

Peace and Blessing

This rite, beautiful, adequate, reformed, never became, however, the accepted use of the Church of England. Bitter contention greeted its use from the press, and from the beginning it was doomed. A body of extreme opinion had arisen, and was clamorously vocal. There was an attempt to meet this agitation in the next year, 1550, when a royal ordinance ordered that all altars be replaced by wooden Communion Tables. But more was demanded, and in 1552 a new prayer-book appeared, a drastic and impoverished revision of that of 1549.

William A. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship*, pp. 144 – 149.

DOCUMENT 38

CRANMER'S SECOND *BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER*, 1552

The First English Prayer Book was short-lived. Protestants found it unsatisfactory because of its ambiguity and even some of its compilers were later to vote against it in the House of Lords. Others were able to interpret it in a Catholic way and use the Communion Service like the Medieval Mass. A series of injunctions had to be issued immediately, forbidding anyone to pretend that they were celebrating Mass; no one was to kiss the Table; no one was to move the Book; no one was to ring a bell or set a light on the Lord's Table. There was to be no teaching about purgatory, no praying to saints, no worship of images or resort to relics or holy beads. Further revision of the Prayer Book was inevitable, to express the teaching of the Reformation more decisively.

THE NEED FOR REFORM

[1] Objections from the Protestants

Some of the more radical Reformers, such as Bishop John Hooper, described the 1549 Prayer Book as 'very defective' and in some respects 'manifestly impious'. Moreover, the way the Book was being used by some priests made it seem no different from the old Service Books.

Further criticism came from European Reformers who had fled to England to escape from persecution at home. Most significantly, Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr sent a long list of suggestions to Archbishop Cranmer about ways to improve the Prayer Book. Bucer observed that 'many of the parochial clergy so recite and administer the service that the people have no more understanding of the mysteries of Christ than if the Latin instead of the vulgar tongue (i.e. English) were still in use.' Many of the things that Bucer and Martyr objected to were omitted in the second Prayer Book, though the exact degree of their influence on the revision is much debated.

[2] Objections from the Catholics

Bishop Stephen Gardiner was the most able of the Catholic opponents of the 1549 Prayer Book. His method of attack was to interpret it according to Roman doctrine. He argued that it taught 'the Real Presence' of Christ – that is to say, Christ present 'in, with and under' the elements of bread and wine. This is the heart of the transubstantiation view. The 1549 Communion Service seemed to justify such an assertion. It stated that Jesus 'hath left *in* those holy mysteries as a pledge of his love and a continual remembrance of the same, his own Blessed Body and Precious Blood.' Again it stated: 'he doth also vouchsafe *in* a Sacrament and Mystery to give us his said Body and Blood to feed us spiritually.'

The retention of such phrases may have been an attempt to conciliate the Roman party. More likely, it was believed that the context in which they were placed ensured for

them a Reformed meaning. Yet they were open to misunderstanding. Bishop Gardiner gave such phrases a meaning they were not intended to have. The old Canon of the Mass had been abolished but sufficient remained of its terminology for the doctrine of the Mass to be re-asserted.

Masses for the Dead

In the 1549 Communion Service, a prayer for the dead had been retained: 'We commend unto thy mercy (O Lord) all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace; Grant unto the, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that, at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand ...' Gardiner said that this justified continuing to have Masses for the dead. When revision of the Prayer Book came in 1552, there was no suggestion that Christians who have died are in need of our prayers.

Transubstantiation

The Prayer of Consecration had asked that the Holy Spirit bless and sanctify the bread and wine 'that they may be unto us' the body and blood of Christ. This, said Gardiner, had the same intention as the doctrine of transubstantiation. Cranmer objected and when he revised the service spoke instead of our 'receiving these thy creatures of bread of wine.' Replying to Gardiner, Cranmer said 'we do not pray absolutely that the bread and wine may be made the body and blood of Christ, but that unto us in that Holy Mystery they may be so: that is to say, that we may so worthily receive the same, that we may be partakers of Christ's body and blood.'

The Objective Presence

In 1549, a rubric had declared that the bread used in Communion was to be 'divided in two pieces at the least, or more, by the discretion of the minister, and so distributed. And man must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesus Christ'. Gardiner saw this as admitting a localized presence of Christ with each fragment of bread. He further pointed to the Prayer of Humble Access, which asked that we may 'so eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ and drink his blood in these holy Mysteries, that we may continually dwell in him and he in us.' In its position after the consecration of the bread and wine, this could be taken to imply transubstantiation.

Cranmer opposed this interpretation, altering the position of the prayer and stating that the wafer bread was to be 'bread as usual to be eaten at the table with other meats'.

Elevation of the Sacrament

Because the range of religious opinion in England at the time, Cranmer had inserted a rubric in the 1549 book allowing that 'as touching, kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast and other gestures: they may be used or left as every man's devotion serveth without blame.' This had permitted a freedom of action on matters that Cranmer saw as indifferent. Gardiner, however, insisted that this permission

about ‘holding up of hands’ allowed the priest to elevate (or lift up for adoration) the communion bread.

The same view, it seemed to Gardiner, was countenanced by ‘the manual acts’ – that is, the touching of the elements of bread and wine by the priest to indicate that they have been set apart for a special use. The 1552 revision abolished the rubric supposed by Gardiner to teach elevation and struck out the manual acts. It contained a rubric or instruction to this effect:

... no persons, vicar, or curate, whatsoever hereafter shall handle, lift up, or shew unto the people, the bread and wine, but shall let it lie still upon the table, until the distribution thereof, and then to break it, receive it himself, and distribute it unto others, according to the orders of the book, without any addition or detraction.

[3] The Council of Trent

During 1551, in response to the Protestant Reformation, the Roman Church at the Council of Trent defined its Doctrines of the Mass, Penance and Extreme Unction. When Cranmer set about revising the Prayer Book, he had those decrees before him. The 1552 Prayer Book intended not only to refute Gardiner’s objections but also to contradict the claims of the Council of Trent. In a positive sense, it was thus a more clear-cut declaration *for* the Reform position.

The Council of Trent declared that, in the Eucharist, ‘there is offered a true and proper Sacrifice for the sins both of the living and the dead, and this Sacrifice is one and the same with that offered upon the Cross; the difference being that one was a Bloody Sacrifice, the other is an unbloody Sacrifice; the offerer also being different.’ Christ appointed the Apostles ‘sacrificial priests’, and ordained that ‘they themselves, and other sacrificial priests, should offer His Body and Blood.’

If any one shall have said that the Mass is a sacrifice only of praise and thanksgiving, or a mere commemoration of the Sacrifice performed on the Cross, but not propitiatory; or that it benefits the recipient alone, and that it should not be offered for the living and the dead, for sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other requirements, let him be anathema.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE 1552 PRAYER BOOK

During 1550, a Committee was appointed to receive submissions and revise the Prayer Book. That same year, an order was made by the King in Council for altars to be broken down, and for *tables* to be set up instead. The reason was given that ‘the form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the Popish Mass unto the right use of the Lord’s Supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it, the use of a table is for men to eat upon.’ The word ‘altar’ disappeared from the official liturgy of the Church of England in 1552.

A new Act of Uniformity was passed by Parliament on April 6, 1552, requiring that the revised Prayer Book should come into use on November 1st that year, to replace

the 1549 Book. It was published ‘for the more plain and manifest explanation’ of the first Prayer Book and for ‘the perfection of the said order of common service in some places where it is necessary’. The 1552 Prayer Book is described in the Act as the former book ‘faithfully and godly perused, explained and made fully perfect’. Unlike the first Prayer Book, which was not reprinted after 1549, the second went through eight separate editions. Although there were minor changes in subsequent revisions, the Prayer Book of 1662 is fundamentally the same as that of 1552.

The chief feature of the new book was the way it handled the long Consecration Prayer in ‘The Order for the Administration of the Lord’s Supper or Holy Communion’. As has been stated, this prayer, or Canon, had been the central and significant part of the Roman Mass. It had been purged and simplified in 1549 but, as Gardiner pointed out, this prayer was broken up or ‘dislocated’ and its parts distributed throughout the Communion Service.

Its first part was placed after the Offertory and before the exhortations to prepare for Communion. It became known as ‘The Prayer for the Church Militant’. The second part of the 1549 Prayer of Consecration was purified of objectionable phrases and sentences. It continued to function as a preliminary to eating and drinking in remembrance of Christ. The third part became an alternative prayer of thanksgiving after communion. By breaking up the 1549 Canon in this way, Cranmer intended that attention should be directed, not to any supposed work of offering by the priest, but to the action of *eating and drinking in remembrance of Jesus and his sacrifice*. With the order that the priest should stand not in a sacrificial position in front of the Table (facing east), but at its ‘north side’, the focus on *reception* was made even more clear. ... Many Anglican churches have unfortunately gone back to the old Catholic position, re-introducing suggestions of a priestly offering.

[1] Additions to the Holy Communion Service

Here is a selection of some of the major changes that characterized the new Prayer Book.

The Ten Commandments were added to the beginning of the service, as a basis for self-examination and confession of sin.

New Words of Administration were provided: ‘Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving’; ‘Drink this in remembrance that Christ’s blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.’

The words ‘militant here in earth’ were added to the prayer for the whole state of Christ’s Church, thus making it clear that prayer was not to be offered for the faithful departed.

The so-called ‘Black Rubric’ or Declaration on Kneeling was added by an order of the King in Council, after the Prayer Book of 1552 had been printed. This was not strictly an instruction regarding the conduct of the service but a statement of doctrine. Some of the Reformers had expressed strong opposition to the practice of kneeling at the Lord’s

Supper, since it could indicate adoration of the bread and wine. With the Prayer Book due to be published on November 1st, an attack had been leveled that could upset its reception. Accordingly, on October 7th, Cranmer outlined views to the Privy Council which resulted in the order being issued on October 27th. The Declaration on Kneeling was added, without authority of Parliament, to meet a crisis in acceptance of the Prayer Book. It appears in the 1662 Book, at the very end of the Communion Service, beginning with the words, 'Whereas it is ordained in this Office for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, that the Communicants should receive the same kneeling...'. Read what it says about Christ's body and blood and the significance of kneeling.

[2] Omissions from the Holy Communion Service

The former words for administering the Holy Communion and a reference to the faithful departed in the Prayer for the Church were removed.

A prayer to the Holy Spirit that the bread and wine may be 'unto us' the body and blood of Christ was omitted. This had been taken by Cranmer from ancient Eastern liturgies. Gardiner found in it an argument for transubstantiation.

The words 'we do celebrate and make here before thy divine majesty ... the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make' and other ambiguous phrases instanced by Gardiner were removed.

[3] Other alterations to the Communion Service

The hymn 'Glory be to God on high' was transferred from the beginning of the service to become the climax of praise at the end.

Between the Prayer for the Church Militant and the Prayer of Consecration almost the whole of the 1548 'Order of Communion' was now placed. The effect of this change of structure was threefold.

[i] It meant that Communion, or the reception of the elements, now came immediately after the Consecration. The preparation for Communion was to be *before* the Consecration.

[ii] It meant that the danger of worshipping the consecrated elements was guarded against, for they remained on the Table for the shortest possible time before being distributed. A further safeguard was added in 1662, when it was required that the elements which remained after Communion should be covered with a white cloth.

[iii] Great emphasis was given to the true character of the worshipper's sacrifice by removing the so-called Prayer of Oblation from the end of the Consecration Prayer and placing it after the Communion. This is the prayer in which we offer 'our selves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and living sacrifice' to God. The wording was altered in certain ways too.

In fact, the whole 'post-communion' section assumed the character of a miniature service of thanksgiving. Our sacrifice can only be one of *praise and thanksgiving* or *obedience* offered in gratitude for all God's mercies ... By removing all reference to the

worshipper's sacrifice to a position after Communion, Cranmer showed with great clarity that the real meaning of the sacrament is *what God offers to us, not what we offer to God*. The latter only comes into prominence after we have received the tokens of Christ's passion in the Communion.

The following table shows the difference between the Orders of Communion:

TWO ORDERS OF COMMUNION

1549	1552
The Offertory	The Offertory
'Lift up your hearts', etc.	Prayer for the Church
Prayer for the Church	Exhortations and Invitations
Prayer of Consecration	Confession, Absolution, etc.
Prayer of Oblation	'Lift up your hearts', etc.
Lord's Prayer	Prayer of Humble Access
Exhortations and Invitations	Prayer of Consecration
Confession, Absolution, etc.	Communion
Prayer of Humble Access	Lord's Prayer
Communion	Prayer of Oblation
Prayer of Thanksgiving	Prayer of Thanksgiving
Blessing	'Glory to God'
	Blessing

[4] Some other changes in the 1552 Prayer Book

At Morning Prayer, Sentences from Scripture, an Exhortation, a General Confession and an Absolution were added, as a penitential approach to God and as a preliminary to hearing God's Word. The same additions were ordered for Evening Prayer but were not printed as part of that service until 1662. These services still ended at the Third Collect. Certain Psalms were added as alternatives to the Canticles. The effect of this was to make these daily services *more complete and extensive*.

The Litany was ordered for use on Sundays, as well as on Wednesdays and Fridays. Certain prayers appeared at the close of the Litany, which were to be separated in 1662 as 'Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions'.

The Order for Public Baptism was further simplified and purged of controversial elements. The whole service was to be conducted at the font. There was to be no special service for the consecration of the water and no exorcism of evil spirits from the person being baptized. The use of oil for anointing (Chrism) and a white robe (Chrisom) was discontinued. At Confirmation, the sign of the cross was omitted and a new prayer was to be said by the bishop at the laying on of hands.

In 1549, there had been provision for the anointing of the sick but this was now removed from 'The Order for the Visitation of the Sick'. Reservation of consecrated bread and

wine from a public celebration of Holy Communion had been allowed in 1549, if it was to be conveyed to the sick that day. To avoid the danger of adoration being offered to the bread and wine, this was forbidden in 1552. A special order for the Communion of the Sick was provided instead. A brief service was to be conducted at the bedside, in the presence of 'a good number', who would receive the Communion with the sick person (unless there was fear of infection). In this way, the fellowship nature of Holy Communion was stressed by the direct involvement of as many as possible.

THE STRUCTURE AND MEANING OF THE COMMUNION SERVICE

Since the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper in the 1662 Prayer Book is virtually the same, students can use that familiar form to consider in detail the service as it was revised in the 16th century. The aim of this section is to demonstrate its logic and the significance of its component parts.

The service has two main divisions: *the Ante-Communion* ('before Communion'), Concluding with the Prayer for the Church Militant, and *the Communion*, beginning with the third exhortation printed in the 1662 order.

[1] The Ante-Communion: the Word and the Prayers

The service begins with the Lord's Prayer and the Collect for Purity, to be said by the Priest standing 'at the north side of the Table'. This is all that remains of the Priest's Preparation from the old Sarum Missal ... However, these prayers now introduce the *public service* and many ministers today rightly encourage congregations to say them together. The Collect for Purity asks the Holy Spirit to inspire us to love and glorify God in all that we say and do.

The Ten Commandments were commonly used in Reformed liturgies to remind people of their duty to God and to one another. The responses seek God's mercy for past failures and ask him to fulfil promises like Jeremiah 31:31-34, writing his law on our hearts and inclining us to obey him. One or other of the two collects for the Monarch must then be said, inspired by the injunction of 1 Timothy 2:1-4 to pray especially for those in authority. These prayers first appeared in the 1549 Communion Service. The collect of the day follows, usually highlighting a theme from the Bible readings with which it is linked. Some of the collects are very ancient, but some are original and were probably written by Cranmer (e.g. the collects for the first two Sundays in Advent). The revisers of the 1662 Prayer Book were responsible for four new collects.

The climax of the first part of the service is the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, followed by the saying of the Nicene Creed, the notices, and the preaching of the sermon or homily. The Epistle and Gospel readings are thematically and seasonally arranged, as in the old Sarum Missal. Since it was anticipated that people would go to Morning Prayer first, the intention was that they would hear a systematic reading of books from the Old and New Testament, chapter by chapter, in that context. The Creed is an appropriate response to the reading of Scripture, providing the congregation with the opportunity to confess their faith in God as he has revealed himself, Father, Son and Holy

Spirit. The sermon will ideally be an exposition of one of the readings for the day and an application of its teaching to those present.

The Priest then begins ‘the Offertory’ by saying one or more of the sentences of Scripture that are listed. These are designed to motivate God’s people to give generously to the poor and needy and to support the ministry of the gospel. While the sentences are read, the collection is taken to the Priest, ‘who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table’ (1662). Notice that there is no provision for bread and wine to be brought forward at the same time and there is no suggestion that the money is to be lifted up or offered to God as a sacrifice. The following rubric in 1662 indicates that, ‘when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine as he shall think sufficient.’ This practical action is quite separate from the Offertory and has no sacrificial meaning.

The Prayer for the Church Militant is a fitting conclusion to the first part of the service. Together with the collection, it is an act of love to pray for others in this way, in response to the reading and exposition of Scripture. As noted above, this prayer is an adaptation of the first part of the Canon in the 1549 Prayer Book. Prayer is first offered for those in authority in the State and in the Church. The focus then turns to the needs of the local congregation, especially the sick and sorrowful. The last sentence, giving thanks for the faithful departed, was added in 1662.

[2] The Communion

Three exhortations are printed at this point in the service. They appeared in a different order in 1552, with some variation in wording. According to the 1662 rubrics, either of the first two exhortations may be used after the sermon or homily, to give notice of a future celebration of the Supper and to warn people to prepare themselves appropriately. The third exhortation is to be read ‘at the time of the celebration’, when the communicants are ‘conveniently placed for the receiving of the holy Sacrament’. This leads to the familiar encouragement to draw near with faith, taking the sacrament as a ‘comfort’ from God – that is, as an assurance of his mercy and forgiveness – and, with this in view, to make a humble confession of our sins. This invitation, the General Confession, the Absolution, and the Comfortable Words, all come from the 1548 Order of Communion. They were composed by Cranmer, under the influence of Hermann’s Consultation.

A note of thanksgiving is then sounded, as the Priest says the words ‘Lift up your hearts.’ This begins the ancient dialogue between minister and people that was used as early as the third century AD. It may include one of the ‘Proper Prefaces’, giving special thanks for what we celebrate at Christmas or Easter or other seasons. In conclusion, we join with heavenly host in glorifying God as he is praised in Revelation 4:8-11 (cf. Isa. 6:3). The Prayer of Humble Access, as a prayer of preparation for Communion, comes immediately before the Prayer of Consecration. This contains a *declaration* about the unique sacrifice of Christ, offered once for all upon the cross, a *petition* that we may be ‘partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood’, and a *recital* of the words of Jesus at the Last Supper.

According to Article 28, we receive the body and blood of Christ in this sacrament ‘only after an heavenly and spiritual manner’, and the means by which we do is ‘faith.’ This teaching is confirmed by the words of administration which are to be said by the minister as he gives the bread and the cup to anyone. Nothing intervenes between the Prayer of Consecration and the Communion, to avoid the possibility of any adoration being offered to the bread and wine and to make the point that *eating and drinking in remembrance of Christ’s sacrifice* is the main point and purpose of the action.

The Lord’s Prayer begins the thanksgiving after the Communion. The first of the two alternative prayers that follow is the Prayer of Oblation, which formed part of the Canon in 1549. The Gloria is said or sung to continue the note of praise and thanksgiving and the service concludes with a blessing based on Philippians 4:7.

CONCLUSION

The first English Prayer Book had to be revised because it did not go far enough in expressing Reformation teaching at critical points. It left thoughtful Protestants dissatisfied and allow Catholic opponents to distort its meaning and treat the Communion Service as a modified form of the Roman Mass. In particular, it was recognized that the placement of prayers at certain points in a service and the inclusion of certain ceremonies could convey wrong doctrine. The order of events can be just as important as the wording of prayers!

It is sometimes said that the 1552 Prayer Book was the result of foreign influence, and not a genuine product of English thought. ‘We may answer that all the cardinal spiritual truths asserted at that revision were really present in the Prayer Book of 1549, though there were in the earlier book fewer safeguards against error, and some traces of medieval teaching.’ European Reformers had their influence, but the more significant influence was the need to counter misinterpretation and misuse of the first book by Bishop Gardiner and others.

The structure of the 1552 Communion service gave the English Church a liturgical expression of the great doctrine of justification by faith only. As such it is unique among Liturgies Eastern or Western and heads a new liturgical family.

D.G. Peterson, *Prayer Book* (Moore Theological College Correspondence Course), Newtown, NSW: Moore Theological College, 1992, 64-78.

DOCUMENT 39

《公禱書》崇拜程序（1662）

話語的崇拜

主禱文（由牧師禱告）
 禱告（潔淨的禱告）
 十誡與慈悲經（以英語朗讀）
 禱告（為國王及本主日禱告）
 使徒書信
 福音書信
 尼西亞信經
 講道

聖餐的崇拜

奉獻（讀相關的聖經節；預備聖餐用品）
 代禱（記念過世者）
 勸誡與邀請
 認罪與赦罪；安慰的話語
 振起你心
 奉獻的禱告
 （前言：聖哉經；謙卑接近的禱告；記念；邀請共守聖餐）
 恭守聖餐
 主禱文
 守聖餐後的感恩禱告
 榮耀經
 平安
 祝福

Donald Hustad, *Jubilate II*, 中譯：《當代聖樂與崇拜》，臺北：校園出版社，1998，頁 233-234。

DOCUMENT 40

香港聖公會《公禱書》聖餐崇拜禱文選錄 PRAYERS SELECTED FROM THE CHINESE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER (Hong Kong 1998)

求潔淨心禱文 (Prayer for Purity)

全能之主，凡人之心，皆在主前顯明；心所羨慕，主皆知之；心所隱藏，亦不能瞞主。求主賜聖靈，感化我等，使我等心清意潔，盡心愛主，恭敬歸榮耀於主之聖名；此賴我主耶穌基督而求。阿們。

認罪文 (Confession of Sins)

全能之上帝，我主耶穌基督之父，創造萬物，審判萬人之主，我等向來存心言語、行事，多有過犯，大得罪上帝，干犯主怒。現今我等悲傷哀痛，承認自己所犯諸罪；我等因為此罪，懇切痛悔，心內憂傷，思想我等之過犯，甚覺難堪，如負重擔，擔當不起。求最慈悲之父，憐憫我等，憐憫我等，為聖子我主耶穌基督，赦免我等從前之罪；又賜恩與我等，自今以後，該過自新，遵主聖意，以服事主，將尊貴、榮耀，歸於主之聖名；此賴我主耶穌基督而求。阿們。

赦罪文 (Absolution)

全能之上帝，我等之天父，發大慈悲，應許將赦罪之恩，賜與誠心悔罪，真信主而歸向主之人。現今願上帝為我主耶穌基督之功勞，憐憫爾等，赦免爾等，救爾等脫離自己所犯諸罪，賜爾等行善之力，使爾等能得永遠之生命。

總禱 (Litany)

我等要為基督在世奮鬥之全教會祈禱：

全能永生之上帝，曾託聖使徒教訓我等，為萬人祈禱，懇切呼籲，感謝主。我等伏求主施恩，悅納我等所獻之（捐項與）祭品，應允我等之祈禱；時常感化聖教會，使凡奉主聖名之人，皆能遵守真理，同心合意，信從聖道，彼此親愛和睦。

又求主救護奉教之執政者，感化彼等之心，使彼等能依真道，公正治民，賞善罰惡，扶持聖教。

又求天父賜恩與眾會督及各聖品人，使彼等行事傳教，皆能顯明主生命之道，亦能遵依聖法，施行聖禮。

我等伏求主引導及扶助凡在各處宣傳福音之人，又以主之靈，光照一切研究學習真道者，以致世界能充滿真理之知識。

又求主將天恩賜與主之眾民，更賜恩與我等在此聚會之人，使我等恭敬聽信聖經之道，常記於心，終身聖潔，作事合義，誠心事主。

又求主大發慈悲，安慰拯救在世上凡遇災難，受困苦，有病痛，有欠缺，並遭各樣禍患之人。

[Prayer about the dead:] 我等又為已經去世，一生信奉主，敬畏主之人，讚美主之聖名；求主施恩與我等，能效法彼等良善之模範，可與彼等同項天國之福。

懇求天父為我等獨一無二之中保，我主耶穌基督，應允我等之祈禱。阿們。

勸召領餐文 (Exhortation)

爾等若真實悔罪，與人親愛和睦，立志自新，從今以後，遵主命令，行主聖道；爾等宜存信心，領受聖餐，使爾等得安慰，要向全能之上帝，恭敬跪下，同心祈禱。

謙恭近主文 (Prayer of Humble Access)

慈悲之主，我等到主之聖壇前，不敢自以為有功可恃，惟持主之大慈悲；我等即拾主聖壇下之零碎，亦是不配；惟主乃常施憐憫之上帝，所以現今求主施恩，使我等等領受上帝愛子，耶穌基督之聖體及寶血，以致我有罪之身體，因耶穌之聖體，得以潔淨；我等之靈魂，因耶穌之寶血，得亦洗清；如此，我等就常居於基督之中，基督亦常居於我等心內。阿們。

祝聖餅酒禱文 (Prayer of Consecration)

全能之上帝，我等之天父，我等讚美主，因主大發慈悲，使獨生聖子，稱為人身，在十字架上受死，救贖我等；耶穌在十字架，將己身一次獻上，為世人作完全之贖罪祭；又設立此聖禮，吩咐我等，常時奉行，以記念其為我等受死。

耶穌在被賣之夜，取餅，祝謝，擘開，分與門徒曰：爾等接此而食，此是我之身，為爾等所捨；爾等以後須如此行，以記念我。

餐後，舉杯，祝謝，遞與門徒曰：爾等皆將此飲，此是我之血，即新約之血，為爾等及眾人免罪所流；爾等以後當飲之時，須如此行，以記念我。

主，天父上帝歟，昔日愛子救主耶穌基督曾親自設立聖事，吩咐我等以後奉行；因此，主卑微之眾人，現遵聖子之命令，將主所賜之聖物，奉獻於聖主之前，以為記念救主耶穌之聖體，而追念聖子寶貴之受難與受死，大能之復活與榮耀之升天；我等復誠心感謝，因我等藉賴耶穌基督，而獲得無數之恩賜。

又伏求慈悲之天父，大發慈悲，垂聽我等之祈禱，以聖潔及賜生命之聖靈，將主所賜之餅及酒，分別為聖，（斯時，在餅酒上劃十字聖號。）並將我等潔淨，使我等在接餅酒之時，得領聖子救主耶穌基督之聖體與寶血，俾我等之身體靈魂，得以強健而復甦。

又懇求天父，大發慈悲，歡喜收納我等稱頌感恩之獻祭；又誠心求主施恩，令我等

及全教會之人，藉賴聖子耶穌基督捨身流血之功勞，得蒙罪之赦免，餅得受諸般恩賜。

會眾同讚：

我等先將自己之身體靈魂獻與主，作合理潔淨之活祭，懇求主使我等同領聖餐之人，皆蒙主之恩寵天福。我等罪惡甚重，原不配獻祭於主，但我等現今所行，乃份內之事，懇求主歡喜收納，勿計我等之行為，惟因我主耶穌基督饒恕我等之過犯；皆賴我主耶穌基督祈求；主耶穌與聖父、聖靈，一同永生，一同掌權，永為以上帝，世世無盡。阿們。

虔受聖餐 (Communion)

牧師先領餅酒二物。若有會督活其他牧師活會吏在堂，彼等即須先領，後及會眾。各人皆宜虔誠恭敬跪下領受。

牧師遞餅時曰：

我主耶穌基督為爾捨之聖體，保全爾之身體靈魂，直至永生，爾將此食，記念基督為爾受死，當信服感謝，心中領受。

牧師遞酒杯時曰：

我主耶穌基督為爾流之寶血，保全爾之身體靈魂，直至永生。爾將此飲，記念基督為爾流血，當心中感謝。

若祇有一位牧師施禮，爾領餐者人數眾多，即可同時施派領酒。牧師遞餅酒時曰：我主耶穌基督為爾捨之聖體寶血，保全爾之身體靈魂，直至永生。

感謝文 (Thanksgiving)

全能永生之上帝，我等誠心感謝，因主將聖子我等救主耶穌基督之聖體寶血，賜與我等領聖餐之人，作我等之靈糧，使我等確知，主喜悅我等，愛惜我等，並承認我等為聯合於聖子奧秘身體中之肢體，蓋基督之身體即是中信徒之聖教會；亦使我等深信，我等皆賴愛子為我等受難遇害之功勞，爾得有指望成為上帝永遠國度之後嗣。伏求天父施恩，扶助我等，使我等常能居於聖會中，而遵行主所準備我等當為之善事。但願尊貴，榮耀歸於聖父、聖子、聖靈，三位一體之主，世世無盡。阿們。

榮耀主頌 (Gloria in excelsis)

但願在天上榮耀歸於上帝，在地上平安歸於主所喜悅之人。我等讚美主，稱頌主，敬拜主，榮耀主，為主之大榮耀，感謝主上帝，天上之主，全能之上帝聖父。

主，獨生之聖子耶穌基督；主上帝，上帝之羔羊，聖父之聖子，除去世人罪之主，憐憫我等；除去世人罪之主，憐憫我等。除去世人罪之主，應允我等之祈禱。坐於上帝聖父右之聖子，憐憫我等。

惟基督獨一為聖，基督獨一為主，惟基督與聖靈，同在聖父榮耀中，同為至上。阿們。

祝福 (Benediction)

願上帝賜人意外之平安，保守爾等之心思及意念，令爾等深識敬愛上帝與聖子我主耶穌基督。又願全能之上帝，聖父、聖子、聖靈，賜福爾等，保護爾等，直到永遠。阿們。

DOCUMENT 41

The Holy Eucharist:
Selected Prayers from the *Book of Common Prayer*
(Episcopal Church USA, 1789/1990)

FROM THE PENITENTIAL ORDER: RITE ONE**Confession of Sins**

Minister and People
 Most merciful God,
 We confess that we have sinned against thee
 in thought, word, and deed,
 by what we have done,
 and by what we have left undone.
 We have not loved thee with our whole heart;
 We have not loved our neighbors as ourselves.
 We are truly sorry and we humbly repent.
 For the sake of thy Son Jesus Christ,
 Have mercy on us and forgive us;
 that we may delight in thy will,
 and walk in thy ways,
 to the glory of thy Name. Amen.

or this

Almighty and most merciful Father,
 we have erred and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep,
 we have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts,
 we have offended against thy holy laws,
 we have left undone those things which we ought to have done,
 and we have done those things which we ought not to have done.
 But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us,
 spare thou those who confess their faults,
 restore thou those who are penitent,
 according to thy promises declared unto mankind
 in Christ Jesus our Lord;
 and grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake,
 that we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life,
 to the glory of thy holy Name. Amen.

FROM THE HOLY EUCHARIST: RITE ONE

The Prayers of the People

Almighty and ever living God, who in thy holy Word hast taught us to make prayers, and supplications, and to give thanks for all men: Receive these our prayers which we offer unto thy divine Majesty, beseeching thee to inspire continually the Universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord; and grant that all those who do confess thy holy Name may agree in the truth of thy holy Word, and live in unity and godly love.

Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all bishops and other ministers [especially _____], that they may, both by their life and doctrine, set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments.

And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, and especially to this congregation here present; that, with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy Word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.

We beseech thee also so to rule the hearts of those who bear the authority of government in this and every land [especially _____], that they may be led to wise decisions and right actions for the welfare and peace of the world.

Open, O Lord, the eyes of all people to behold thy gracious hand in all thy works, that, rejoicing in thy whole creation, they may honor thee with their substance, and be faithful stewards of thy bounty.

And we most humbly beseech thee, of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succor [_____ and] all those who, in this transitory life, are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity.

Additional petitions and thanksgiving may be included here.

[Note: prayer for the dead]

And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear [especially _____], beseeching thee to grant them continual growth in thy love and service; and to grant us grace so to follow the good examples of [_____ and of] all thy saints, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom.

Grant these our prayers, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

Confession of Sin

Almighty God,
Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,

maker of all things, judge of all men:
 We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness,
 which we from time to time most grievously have committed,
 by thought, word, and deed, against thy divine Majesty,
 provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us.
 We do earnestly repent,
 and are heartily sorry for these our misdoings;
 the remembrance of them is grievous unto us,
 the burden of them is intolerable.
 Have mercy upon us,
 have mercy upon us, most merciful Father;
 for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake,
 forgive us all that is past;
 and grant that we may ever hereafter
 serve and please thee in newness of life,
 to the honor and glory of thy Name;
 through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

or this
 Most merciful God,
 we confess that we have sinned against thee
 in thought, word, and deed,
 by what we have done,
 and by what we have left undone.
 We have not loved thee with our whole heart;
 We have not loved our neighbors as ourselves.
 We are truly sorry and we humbly repent.
 For the sake of thy Son Jesus Christ,
 have mercy on us and forgive us;
 that we may delight in thy will,
 and walk in thy ways,
 to the glory of thy Name. Amen.

Absolution

The Bishop when present, or the Priest, stands and says
 Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of
 sins to all those who with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him, have mercy
 upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all
 goodness, and bring you to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

FROM THE HOLY COMMUNION

The Great Thanksgiving

The people remain standing. The Celebrant, whether bishop or priest, faces them and sings or says

	The Lord be with you.
People	And with thy spirit.
Celebrant	Lift up your hearts.
People	We lift them up unto the Lord.
Celebrant	Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.
People	It is meet and right so to do.

Then, facing the Holy Table, the Celebrant proceeds

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, holy Father, almighty, everlasting God.

Here a Proper Preface is sung or said on all Sundays, and on other occasions as appointed.

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name; evermore praising thee, and saying,

Celebrant and people

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts;
Heaven and earth are full of thy glory.
Glory be to thee, O Lord Most High.

Here may be added

Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.

The people kneel or stand.

Then the Celebrant continues

All glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou, of thy tender mercy, didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who made there, by his one oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death and sacrifice, until his coming again.

At the following words concerning the bread, the Celebrant is to hold it, or lay a hand upon it; and at the words concerning the cup, to hold or place a hand upon the cup and any other vessel containing wine to be consecrated.

For in the night in which he was betrayed, he took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Take, eat, this is my Body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me."

Likewise, after supper, he took the cup; and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, "Drink ye all of this; for this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins. Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me."

Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Savior Jesus Christ, we, thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto thee, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion and precious death, his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.

And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us; and, of thy almighty goodness, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine; that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Savior Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood.

And we earnestly desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant that, by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we, and all thy whole Church, may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion.

And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, our selves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee that we, and all others who shall be partakers of this Holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in us, and we in him.

And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offenses, through Jesus Christ our Lord;

By whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost all honor and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. AMEN.

From The Breaking of the Bread

We do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, rusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table. But thou art the same Lord whose property is always to have mercy. Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that we may evermore dwell in him, and he is us. Amen.

...

The Bread and the Cup are given to the communicants with these words

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.

The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

...

After Communion, the Celebrant says

Let us pray.

The People may join in saying this prayer

Almighty and ever living God, we most heartily thank thee for that thou dost feed us, in these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son our Savior Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favor and goodness towards us; and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, the blessed company of all faithful people; and are also heirs, through hope, of thy everlasting kingdom. And we humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honor and glory, world without end. *Amen.*